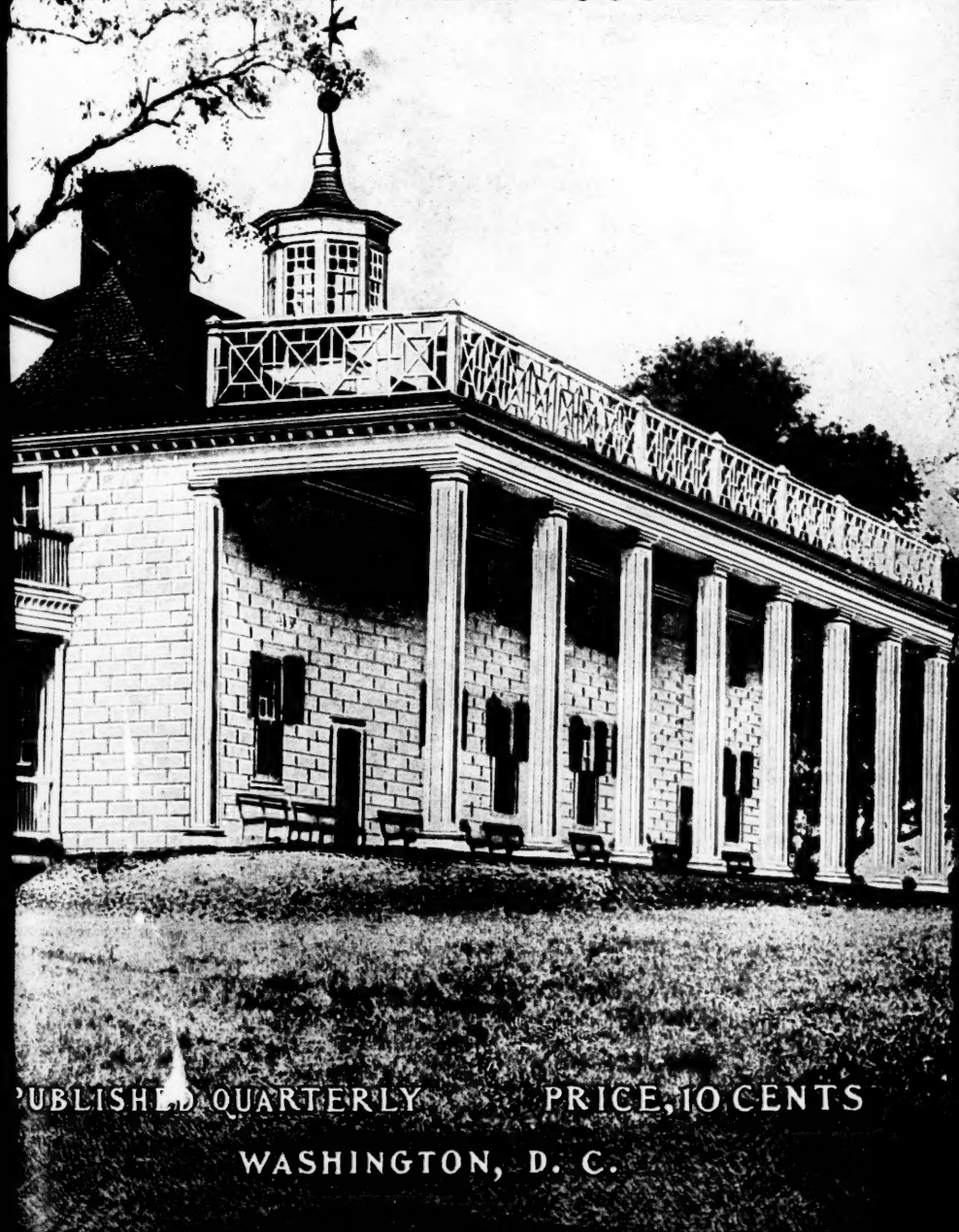


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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Scriptural Basis: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." "The powers that be are ordained of God."

1. The Bible is the Word of God, and Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world.
2. The ten commandments are the foundation of all morality, and comprehend the whole duty of man, both to God and man.
3. The religion of Jesus Christ, being founded in the love of God, needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love can not be forced.
4. It is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship, or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of that right he does not interfere with the equal rights of others.
5. Civil government is of divine origin, designed for the protection of men in the enjoyment of their natural rights. It is ordained to rule in civil things, and in this realm is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
6. The civil power is not authorized to enter the realm of religion, enacting legislation to define or to enforce any religious dogma, ritual, or observance. Coercion in matters of religion always means persecution.
7. All religious legislation on the part of the state, and all movements tending to unite church and state, are subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
8. It is proper, therefore, for all to protest against, and use every laudable and legitimate means to prevent, religious legislation, or the union of church and state, in order that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.
9. The warfare of modern science and modern theology upon the Word of God is a warfare upon the liberties of men, which are defined and guaranteed by that Word.
10. The liquor traffic is a curse to the home, to society, and to the nation, and a menace to civil order, and should be prohibited by law.

For further information regarding the principles of this association, address the Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. (secretary, K. C. Russell; corresponding secretary, S. B. Horton), or any of the affiliated organizations given below:—

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CONTENTS

GENERAL ARTICLES

	Page
A Striking Object-Lesson in Religious Intolerance	3
Liberty and Equity	6
The Christian Sabbath	7
Religious Liberty in Central America	9
Sunday Laws Menace the Laboring Man	11
France's Debt to America	12
A Brief History of Sunday Legislation	16
False Premises Bring Direful Conclusions	19
Putting God Into the Constitution	20
The Rights of Man	21
State Rule Over the Church	22

EDITORIAL

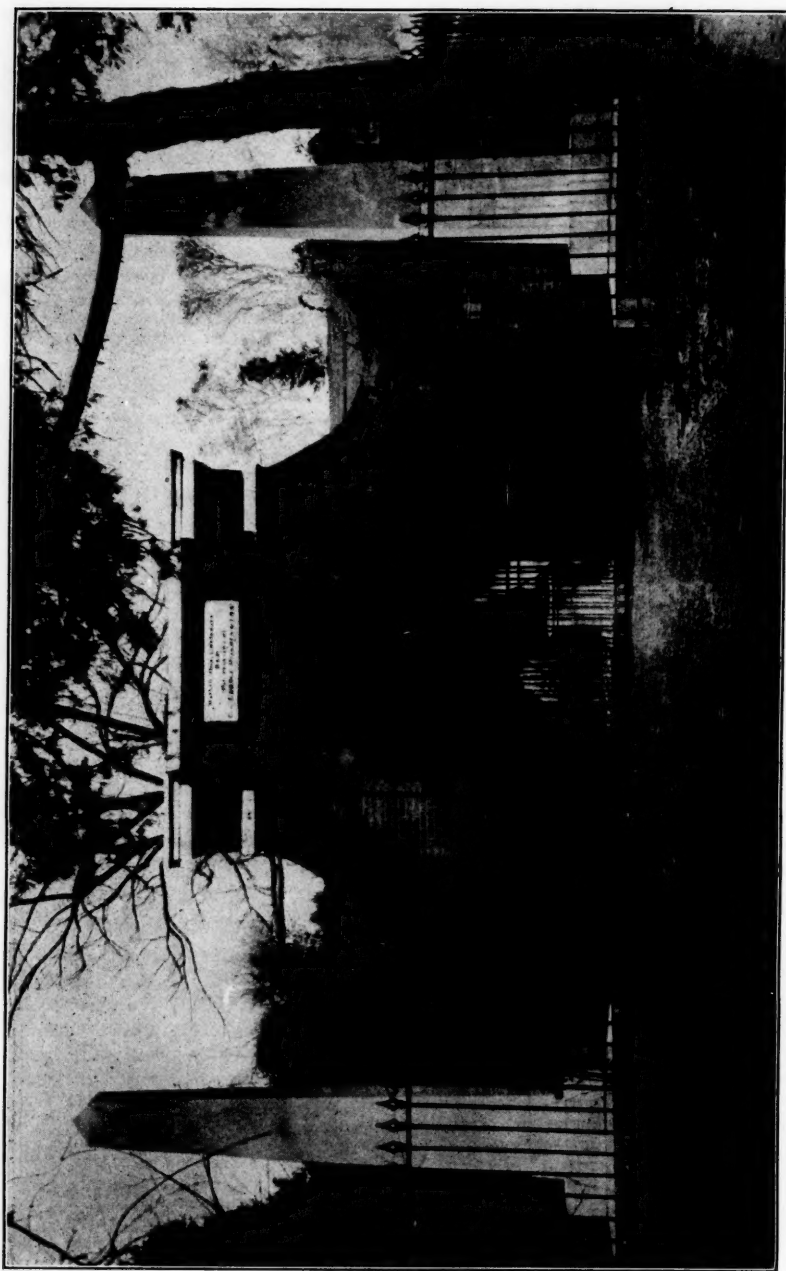
American Federation of Catholic Societies	24
The Greatest Issue in America	27
National Religion	31
Sunday Legislation and the Laboring Man	32
A Threatened Invasion of Vital Principles	34
Freedom and the Bible	37
A United States Senator Protests	38
International Christian Endeavor Convention	40
Prohibition in Maine	42
Demanding Compensation	43
Japan Will Not Establish Christianity	43

TEMPERANCE

The Prohibition Battle in Maine	44
Prohibition and Personal Liberty	45

ILLUSTRATIONS

Home of George Washington (cover)	
The Tomb of Washington (frontispiece)	
A Russian Officer and Family	5
Manuel Estrada Cabrera, President of Guatemala	9
Guatemala's President Delivering His Inaugural Address	10
Main Hall in Washington's Home	13
Library of Washington's Home	14
Legislative Chamber of Portuguese Republic	23
Rifle Company, Catholic Parade, Columbus, Ohio	24
Officials of American Federation of Catholic Societies	26
Statue of Liberty	29
Representative Crumpacker, of Indiana	34
Senator Root, of New York	35
Senator Borah, of Idaho	36
Senator Heyburn, of Idaho	39
Procession of American Federation of Catholic Societies	40
Reviewing Stand, Catholic Procession, Columbus, Ohio	42
President George Washington (last page of cover)	



THE TOMB OF WASHINGTON

The Father of His Country, who, being dead, yet speaketh in these words of truth and justice: "Every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience."— *Sparks's "Writings of George Washington," Vol. XII, page 155.*

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LIBERTY

*Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto
all the inhabitants thereof. Lev. 25:10.*

VOL. VI

FOURTH QUARTER, 1911

No. 4

A Striking Object-Lesson in Religious Intolerance

The Baneful Effect of State-Churchism on Individual Religious Experience and on Individual Character as Illustrated by Conditions in Russia

[The matter which follows is an epitome of a public address given recently by one who has made a close study of conditions in Russia, and who, from residence and travels in other lands, is well able to make an impartial comparison between the conditions in that country and in the other countries of the world.—Ed.]

BEFORE going to Russia, I had very little definite information regarding the real situation. I knew that members of denominations other than the Greek Catholic Church struggled against many difficulties and restrictions in carrying forward their work, and that often members of evangelical bodies are cast into prison merely on account of their religion.

During my sojourn in Russia, I sought to become better acquainted with that system which makes Russia a despotism, and outlaws every one who does not belong to the Orthodox state church. I was told by those who had studied conditions there that it is the Russian Church, the union of religion and the state, which makes Russia a despotic power, and every Christian who does not belong to the state church, a heretic and an outlaw. They told me that if it were not for that system, Russia would

soon take her place among the foremost nations of Europe, and that self-government and civil liberty would be granted the people, as they are now in Germany, Scandinavia, and Great Britain. They told me that that mighty church dominated the state and everything else within the boundaries of Russia.

Russia is a mighty empire, stretching across two continents, Europe and Asia. The northern boundary is the Arctic Ocean, and on the south it extends to the Black Sea and the Caucasus, to the borders of Turkestan and the Chinese empire. The population of this empire is about 150,000,000, or 60,000,000 more than in the United States, and 100,000,000 more than in Germany.

Russia is fully one hundred years behind Germany and Great Britain, when, if she could free herself from the domination of a priest government, she might be standing on an equality with them. She might take her place at the head of the nations of earth if it were not for that condition of despotism created and maintained by a system that unites religion and the state.

The official title of the Russian church is The Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Eastern Church, or Oriental Church. It has a different creed entirely

from the Roman Catholic Church, and it proposes to fight that church and all Protestant churches to the death.

How Christianity Was Established in Russia

The Russian church began its career under force, and it has continued to exercise force in matters of religion from that time to this,—one thousand years. When the ruler of Russia embraced Christianity, at Kief, about one thousand years ago, the people were driven in throngs to the river Dnieper to be baptized. It was not a matter of individual volition, or of choice, or belief, or of conscience. The emperor simply accepted the Greek religion, and told all his subjects to accept it also. Whatever force was needed, from the army or from the civil power, was used, and the people "were made Christians"—by compulsion. That is the way they started, and thus they continue to this day. The Russian people know nothing about a religion of choice, of conviction, of conscience.

The czar of Russia is the nominal head of the church, which numbers about 90,000,000 adherents. In him the two powers, the church and the state, meet; and twice every day, in every church in Russia, the officiating priest offers a certain prescribed prayer for Czar Nicholas.

The czar directs the affairs of the church through the Holy Synod. In reality he knows very little about the affairs of the church; but the power which the czar represents stands behind the minister of the interior, who looks after all the civil arrangements of the church. The minister of the interior is the man who uses the sword of the state to advance the interests of the church.

The Holy Synod is the governing power in Russia. It is an absolute despotism, controlling everything of a religious character. The czar, through the minister of the interior, sees that all the decrees of the Holy Synod are put into execution. In every province there is

a bishop, appointed by the Holy Synod; and this bishop, with his "consistory," which is also appointed by the Holy Synod, has charge of everything educational or religious in that province. They have also the authority of censorship. That consistory has power to permit or to prohibit the circulation of literature, and to say who shall preach and who shall not. To carry on missionary operations of any kind, without the permission of this committee, is equivalent to inviting a prison sentence, and the operation of these laws has caused the imprisonment of many God-fearing evangelicals.

Russia is a country of cathedrals and shrines. We are told that there are 350 cathedrals in Moscow alone, and shrines are everywhere. When a Russian approaches one of these shrines, he makes the sign of the cross, with two fingers and the thumb. Thousands have been exterminated because they advocated using two fingers without the thumb.

In Moscow I saw a painting representing a countess starting on her journey into exile. She was tied on a sled with ropes, and the horse was drawing her away. She was pale and emaciated from imprisonment; but as she went, she was holding up two fingers, as her last word of counsel to her followers to die for that way of making the sign of the cross.

The real religion of the Greek church is form and ceremony. The Russian knows nothing about heart religion, nothing of a personal Saviour. He never has what is known as a "religious experience." The idea of the religion of Jesus Christ in his heart, making of him a new man, taking away his old nature, and giving him victory over sin, does not enter into the conception of a member of the Russian church. I have seen Russians walking along the street, using profane language. When they approached a shrine, they would pull off their caps, make the sign of the cross, and the next moment be in a wine shop;

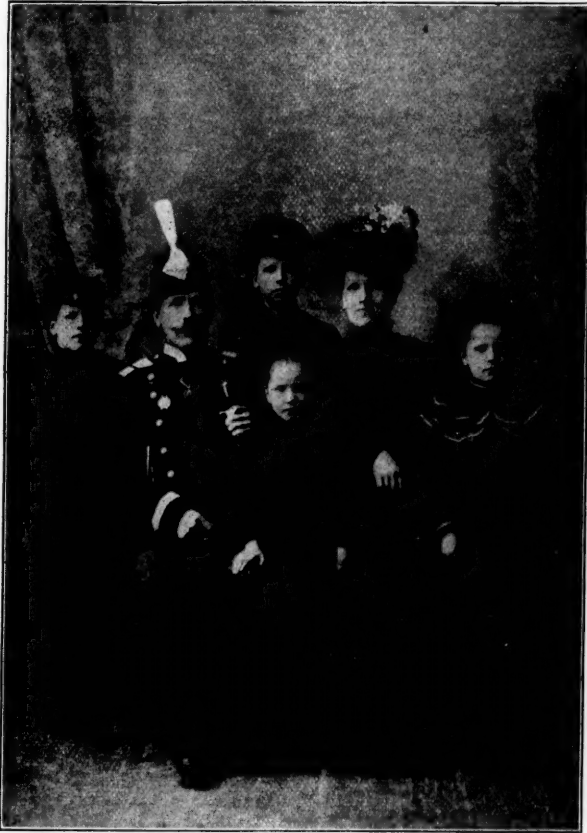
or perhaps immediately after making the sign of the cross and saying, *Slava Boga* (Glory to God), they would finish their oath. That expression, "Glory to God," is frequently on a Russian's lips, no matter what he is doing, or how profane or vile his conversation. From a child he has had on his lips, "Glory to God," and on his breast and forehead the sign of the cross; but he denies himself of nothing he wants. He fixes it all up with a price, some money or some ceremony, or by visiting some relics.

This, as a rule, is all the religion the Russian knows, from the priest to the beggar. It is a religion of force and ceremony. I never appreciated a living Saviour and the gospel that lays right hold of hearts and transforms them, making a man a Christian wherever he goes, so much as I did when I was in Russia. The Russian will make long pilgrimages to cathedrals, perhaps walking on crutches, to venerate and kiss the supposed bones of some saint and to purchase a few fragments of cloth said to have been portions of the garments of some saint, or to kiss the feet of some manufactured mummy that is made to pose as a Polycarp or some other saint long since dead.

But there is no Christ in such a religion as this, no salvation, no power to help. Russia needs the gospel; and when such people do find the Saviour, the One who is able to give power to resist sin and put hope and joy into their

souls, their hearts are filled to overflowing with gratitude to God. But with all the power of a church-ruled state against such a gospel, one can readily see what a difficult task is set before those who would give the gospel to Russia.

Every evangelical church in Russia



A RUSSIAN OFFICER AND FAMILY

must have permission to exist. A church can not be organized or meetings held without permission from the minister of the interior. Wherever people meet, the place must be registered. Then, too, Presbyterians could not hold a conference in Russia in the same city where a Baptist meeting is being held, and vice versa. If a conference is to be held, a program giving every item of business

that is to be transacted must be sent to St. Petersburg to the minister of the interior, and he must give his sanction before the conference can take up its business. That is state control of religion.

It is contrary to law for any member of the Greek Church to be baptized by any sect in Russia. It is a state-prison offense both for the one who is baptized and for the one who officiates at the baptism. No Greek Catholic can legally leave his church, and no member of any sect may join any other church except the Greek Church. If an evangelical minister goes into Russia, he must not preach until he receives permission, and that takes anywhere from three to eighteen months.

If the people of the United States only knew what a curse it is to have a religion supported by the state, and a state dominated by the church, they would never be agitating for such a régime here, as so many are doing at the present time. It tears away every vestige of the rights and liberties of the people, their freedom and manhood, and binds them in chains

intellectually, spiritually, and morally. Countries where such a union of church and state obtains are a thousand times worse off than India, China, or Africa. As I saw the conditions there, a religion of formalism with no power to touch hearts, and the most conscientious people in Russia languishing in vermin-infested prisons for accepting the gospel of Jesus Christ, it did seem to me that God must teach these people a lesson as he did in olden times, and give them a chance to know his gospel.

When a member of one of the sects is arrested on account of his religion, he is not given an impartial trial. He has no redress, no justice. Men go to trial, but they can not testify. The priests bear witness, and that is enough. The whole power of the state is at the call of the Greek Church. That is why Russia is the cruel, despotic power that it is, one hundred years behind other civilized nations. But that is no worse than it will be in this country if the church should ever be in a position where it could dominate the state, and carry out its purposes through legal enactments.

Liberty and Equity

A Vital Consideration in the Matter of the Equality of Citizens

W. M. HEALEY

LIBERTY, in its broadest sense, is the right and privilege of doing whatever a person *chooses* to do. If each member of the human family loved others as himself; if all would live by the "golden rule" and do to others as they would have others do to them; in short, if all were Christians, they could be trusted with liberty in its fullest sense, and all could do as they might *choose* to do, for none would *choose* to do wrong; in fact, liberty and Christianity go hand in hand. "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." Gal. 5: 1.

Wickedness is opposed to, and destructive of, all liberty. The murderer takes from his victim his liberty and right to live. The thief deprives others of their right and liberty to use that which is their own. Therefore to allow wicked men to do as they choose, would be to destroy the liberties of all. Hence the necessity for civil government.

It is the province of civil government to see that none of its subjects go beyond the bounds of their liberties, and infringe upon the rights and liberties of others. Every one's rights are limited by the rights of others. By this rule all cases may be tried, whether civil or religious.

Civil government has no right to recognize religious dogmas of any kind, but to see that equal rights and liberties are allowed to all, without question concerning religion. If any one is guilty of murder, theft, polygamy, or any evil which interferes with the rights of another, that person should be restrained and properly punished, and no argument that it was according to his religion should enter into the consideration of the government.

A law compelling people to rest on Sunday, or on any other day, is an interference with their natural right to work or rest on that day. It works a hardship on those who choose to rest on another day. To exempt them from the penalty of the Sunday law does not obviate the injustice done them. To give them equal rights, it would be necessary that the law should not only exempt them but exempt all others who choose to do business with them or to labor for them; for to say, "You may keep open store, but the public shall not trade with you;" "You may open your mill or factory, but no one shall be permitted to labor for you," is but a cheap burlesque on justice and liberty.

If one chooses to rest on Sunday, or on any other day, from religious or other motives, it is his right, and should be his privilege. His resting does not prevent another from working, neither does the work of some interfere with others' resting. Hence this is in *no way* a matter for legislation. When Mr. Tufts was contending for the passage of a Sunday-law bill in California, he said to a committee of legislators, "All we

want is our rights." The writer asked him what rights he referred to, what rights a Sunday law would give him which he did not possess without it. He and all others are at liberty to work or rest *as they choose* on Sunday *without a Sunday law*. What more could the law add to their rights already possessed? It could add *nothing, absolutely nothing*, while it would take from others who did not choose to rest on that day their liberty of choice. Therefore such a law would be unjust, uncivil, and unchristian.

It is claimed that one day's rest in seven is a necessity, and if people will not take it of their own accord, they should be compelled to do so *for the public good*. It is true that every citizen owes a duty to the general public. There is a law of "eminent domain" by which a man's land is taken for streets that he does not want; the water is taken from the farmer's spring to supply the public needs; one's house is torn down to make way for a railroad, etc. But none of that man's property can be taken from him for the public good without full and complete compensation. We deny, and all history and experience proves the truth of our denial, that enforced idleness ever was for the public good. But if the public decides that it is for the public good, and so deprives a man of the use of his time for one day in the week,—and time is the basis of all values,—then it follows in all equity and justice that the public should pay him for every minute of his time which he has been compelled to give up for the public good.

San Diego, Cal.

The Christian Sabbath

L. A. SMITH

WHILE enforced Sabbath observance is unchristian and un-American independently of the character of the day enforced, it should certainly be of interest to the advocates of Sabbath legislation to know that they are working in behalf

of a day which is not the Christian Sabbath, and which has no rightful place whatever in Christian worship.

The Christian Sabbath can be none other than the seventh day of the week.

It is admitted by all that the worship

of the true God necessitated the observance of the seventh-day Sabbath in Old Testament times. And any other sabbath is equally impossible in New Testament times.

The relation of the seventh-day Sabbath to creation is stated in the fourth precept of the decalogue: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, . . . for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it." The relation of the seventh-day Sabbath to redemption is no less actual and vital, and is no less clearly revealed in Holy Writ.

"There be gods many, and lords many," but there is only one true God, and he is distinguished from all others by the possession of creative power. He, in the beginning, created the heavens and the earth. "The Lord is great, and greatly to be praised: he is to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the nations are idols: but the Lord made the heavens." Ps. 96: 4, 5. And because he made the heavens and the earth in six days, and rested the seventh day, he blessed and sanctified that day, and set it apart as his memorial. The seventh-day Sabbath is the memorial of the true God, the sign of him who created all things. He who observes the seventh-day Sabbath knows thereby that the God whom he worships is the true God, the Creator, and thus it is stated: "Hallow my Sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you," "that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you." Eze. 20: 20; Ex. 31: 13. No people, while truly observing the seventh-day Sabbath, could go into idolatry.

But what about redemption? What has the seventh-day Sabbath to do with that? Note the following verses of Scripture:—

"Create in me a clean heart, O God;

and renew a right spirit within me." Ps. 51: 10. "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature" ["there is a new creation," margin]. 2 Cor. 5: 17. "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." Gal. 6: 15.

Therefore, only the One who could create, could redeem. Only the Creator could be the Saviour.

Now the relation of the seventh-day Sabbath to redemption is plain. The seventh-day Sabbath is the sign of what Christ is to us as Creator. (For by Christ were all things created. Col. 1: 16; Heb. 1: 2.) But our Creator is also, by virtue of his creative power, our Redeemer; and the seventh-day Sabbath being the sign of creative power, is also, therefore, equally the sign of redeeming power. Hence the seventh-day Sabbath is the sign of what Christ is to us as Creator, and also the sign of what Christ is to us as Redeemer.

And therefore the seventh-day Sabbath has a most vital relation to the plan of redemption. It has a place in that plan, to the exclusion of any other sabbath. It is the only sabbath that can possibly belong there. The first-day sabbath has no part or lot in the matter. It has no relation to creative power. As a weekly rest day, it can be nothing other than a rival of the seventh day, the "Sabbath of the Lord." There can not be two sabbaths in the week; for the fundamental idea of the Sabbath is that it is the rest day, in distinction from *all* other days of the week. This was the Creator's arrangement of time, and this arrangement, this distinction between days, he has commanded us to preserve.

Therefore, those who are working to secure Sunday observance by legislation, are working against God, against the gospel, and in behalf of another power, an antichristian power, which points to the first-day sabbath as a sign of its spiritual authority. See Roman Catholic catechisms. Surely no Protestant Christian should be willing to engage in such a movement.

Religious Liberty in Central America

Looking to the Land of Liberty for Precedents

W. E. HANCOCK

It is a remarkable situation that exists in nearly all Catholic countries at the present time. One can but admire the small group of men in these countries who, although Catholics themselves by profession, are struggling to break the yoke of ecclesiasticism which for centuries has rested so heavily upon their fatherlands. It would be well for Protestant countries to take notice, and learn a lesson from the struggles of Spain, France, Portugal, and of all Latin-American countries against that union of state and religion exemplified in the Catholic hierarchy.

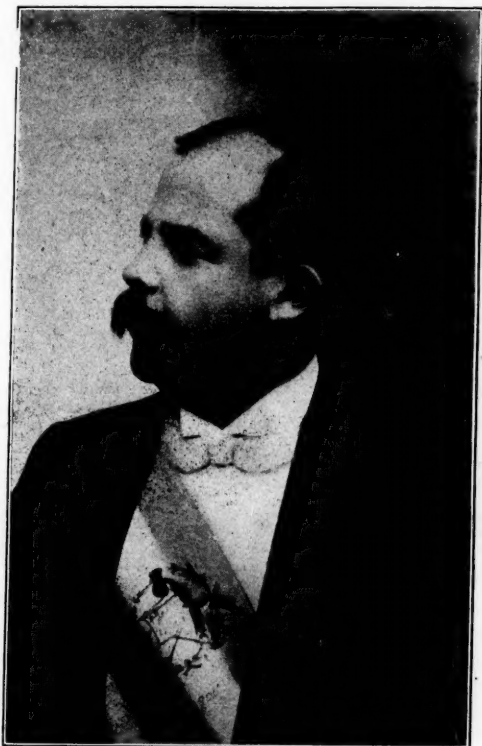
The recent revolutions in Nicaragua, Honduras, and Mexico are revealing the fact that some lurking danger is threatening to undermine the results of the victories gained for religious liberty in these countries during the last twenty-five years. The most remarkable thing is that the Conservative, or Catholic party, is being supported in almost every case by the policy of the United States government. The result of the policy is demonstrated in the Nicaraguan revolution. Statesmen of the Liberal

party of these countries are wondering what the United States means in assisting the Conservatives to gain power again. The following appeared recently in *El Nacional*, of Guatemala City:—

"One of the first demonstrations of religious intolerance was shown by Archbishop Pereira Castellón, who refused to admit General Estrada, president of the republic, as godfather of the son of Andres Murillo. Already are clearly seen the consequences of the condition to which the present constitutional assembly is bringing the country. Mr. Pereira, who at other times is like a lamb, and who accepted Zelaya at his palace, now arises omnipotently and resists the present president."

The Central Americans are

willing to admit the tyrannies of some of their so-called liberal presidents, and the majority of them deplore such abuse of power. However, it must be remembered that the evils of a dictator of the Liberal party will at the most be checked but temporarily by installing a Conservative president, for it must not be forgotten that the element back of the Con-



MANUEL ESTRADA CABRERA, PRESIDENT
OF GUATEMALA

servative party is Catholicism of the most intolerant kind. This spirit will bring in its trail all the dreadful abuses of a civil misgovernment thus controlled, and add tenfold to the obstacles in the way of the reformers, educators, and missionaries. It is this party that would establish the old-time prestige of the church over the state, and drive out reformers and promoters of either education or religion, not of the Catholic Church.

American Influence in Latin America

"What can it mean," we are asking in

Taft's will certainly have a powerful reactionary influence toward the intolerant principles imposed when the Conservative party was in power, before the time of Justo Rufino Barrios, 1873-1885.

Until President Barrios's time, the church practically dominated the state. The church till then had a member in the president's cabinet. It had complete control of the educational system. Its officials were paid out of the national treasury. No other religious bodies were allowed in the country. President Barrios in inaugurating a system of public



THE PRESIDENT OF GUATEMALA DELIVERING HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS

these countries, "that the American President attends Thanksgiving mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral at Washington?" Already the question of attending mass in state corps has been discussed in the assembly of Nicaragua, citing the example of the President of the United States, and of the members of the cabinet as a precedent. The influence of the United States for freedom has been great upon the statesmen of these countries. Every step toward religious liberty has been bitterly opposed by the Conservative party. But thanks to the patriotism of a small band of leading spirits, who have fought for freedom of thought, there is no religious intolerance allowed in these countries at present. This act of Mr.

schools, found the monks, Jesuits, nuns, and all church officials so opposed to it that he banished Jesuits, monks, and nuns from the country and confiscated their monasteries, nunneries, schools, and their possessions of real estate, which were immense. He also abolished the department of the church in the government, and withdrew all financial support from the church, leaving it void of all its influence over the government. So sweeping were his reforms that he is called the second founder of the republic.

The New Constitution

In 1879 he proclaimed a new constitution, granting religious liberty in the following article: "The exercise of all religions without any distinction is guar-

anteed in their churches. But this free exercise does not authorize practise incompatible with peace and order of the public, nor give right to oppose civil and political obligations."

Mr. Barrios was a man of great ability and of liberal ideas. His ambition was to establish a Central American republic. In this he failed. However, he inaugurated a policy which has been followed by succeeding presidents. Although he was virtually a dictator, his measures are largely justifiable because of the kind of opposition with which he was confronted. The American government, of whose freedom we boast, would do well to study more closely the purposes of Mr. Barrios's policy, and also of the Conservative party, before it lends its influence against the existing governments. Such influence will help to establish a party founded on the principle of religious intolerance.

Under the present government it is true that there are abuses of civil power, but a government controlled by a spirit of religious intolerance brings all these abuses and a thousand other woes in its wake.

Now the dead of all faiths or of no faith can be buried in the public cemeteries. Now all can have any form of worship, or belong to any religious body, and enjoy the privileges common to all. If a person wishes to be married, his re-

ligion is not questioned; if one is to be buried, the religion he professed does not enter into the matter. If parents wish their children taught religion, they are at liberty to send them to private schools where the religion they want is taught. Before the time of Barrios these privileges were denied. Much more can be expected (by all except Catholics) from a party which has taken such important steps toward free government than can be hoped for from a party opposed to all the liberal principles for which the present government stands.

Can it be that America, the refuge of the oppressed, the home of that beneficent principle of religious liberty, the pioneer of soul liberty, is insensible to her own future welfare, insensible to the great destiny to which Providence has called her among the nations of the world? Can she afford to blight her fair record by a departure from the principles of religious liberty, which she has held up as a beacon light to the ships of state struggling against the waves of ecclesiastical dominance and religious intolerance? Let every true Protestant arouse to the dangers lurking behind the present-day movements, and enter the contest against the reactionary principles and policies leading the world back toward the intolerance and persecution of the middle ages.

Guatemala City, Guatemala.

Sunday Laws Menace the Laboring Man

LESLIE LITTELL

THAT Sunday laws favor the capitalists and are against the best interests of the laboring men is evident from the fact that, while in many places great corporations are permitted to run factories, railroads, etc., on Sunday without molestation, yet the laboring man is not allowed to hoe in his garden, pick berries, or do any ordinary work on his own place. He can work for the great corporations and be blameless in the eyes

of the law; but when he works for himself, he becomes a criminal.

A laboring man at Siloam Springs, Ark., was arrested and fined \$6.50 for stretching a single wire across a gap made by a breachy horse, and for straightening up his cabbage plants which the horse had rolled down; while the railroad company ran trains, and the manufacturing establishments were running at full capacity.

Some say, "Let us make stricter Sunday laws." But nearly every State in our Union has about as strict laws as can be passed, yet the capitalists are favored, while the laboring men must work for them on Sunday or not at all. Others say, "They will make us work all the time if we repeal our Sunday laws." Is not that just what you have to do now? If you work for them, you can work all the time. If you work for yourself, you can work only six days.

In Sulphur Springs a poor young man was fined one dollar and costs for working on Sunday. Some one asked the prosecuting attorney why he did not arrest the railroad officials for running trains, instead of this poor laboring man. He said, "They are too big for us."

How much better, fairer, more just, to repeal these discriminating Sunday laws! Then if we do not want to work on Sunday we do not have to; and if we do work, it is no one's affair but our own.

The Lord says, "The seventh day is the Sabbath." Why, then, should Christian men seek to influence the state to make and enforce a law compelling men to rest on the first day of the week? In doing this, they not only attempt to abridge the rights of the individual, but they place themselves in direct antagonism to the fiat of the Almighty. They not only ignore his law, but set up a law and an institution of their own in antagonism to his, and seek to overthrow his by establishing theirs under pains and penalties.

France's Debt to America

A. J. SAXBY BOURDEAU

FRANCE, perhaps, more than any other nation, has imbibed the American principles of liberty. Having helped America to gain her independence, she, in turn, reaped many benefits from the United States, then in its infancy.

"Many members of the noblest families of France," writes one historian, "hastened to the scene of the conflict and fought with distinction at the side of Washington. Covered with glory, they returned to their native land ardent advocates of the American views of liberty and equality. These ideas spread widely, for they fell upon prepared ground." See Jefferson's "Memoir," by Randolph, Vol. I, page 56.

The Count of Segur tells us in his memoirs that "the first shot of the cannon fired in the new hemisphere resounded throughout Europe with the rapidity of lightning. The courageous daring of the Americans electrified all spirits and excited a general admiration. . . . The American insurrection spread everywhere like a fashion. . . . I was far from being the only one whose heart throbbed at the news of the awakening

of liberty, striving to throw off the yoke of arbitrary power." See Segur's "Memoirs," Vol. I, pages 51, 52.

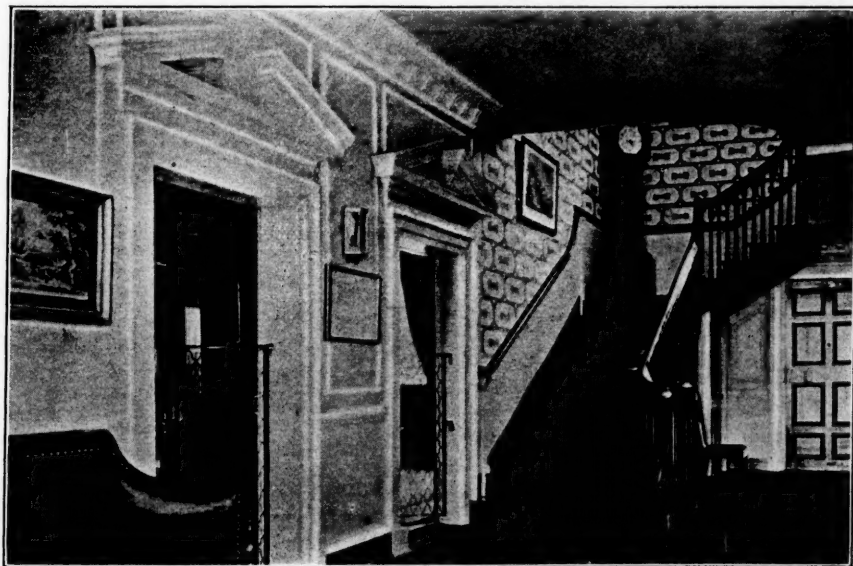
To further assist in the enlightening of the French nation, Benjamin Franklin, the American ambassador to France, "had the constitutions of the several States, the Declaration of Independence, and other papers relating to American affairs, published and spread throughout the country in 1783." Leading French writers even went to the trouble of writing whole books on the liberty principles of the young American nation. "What good," writes Brissot, "have not done and will not do the codes of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, published and spread everywhere? They are not to be taken completely as models; but despotism, either through necessity or reason, will henceforth respect the rights of man so well established. Enlightened by this revolution, the governments of Europe will be forced to reform their abuses and diminish their burdens."—*De la France et des Etats-Unis*, Intro. xxx, xxxi.

In his letters written to John Adams,

under the title "Observations on the Government and Laws of the United States," published in 1785, the Abbé Raynal said:—

"While nearly all the nations of Europe ignore the constitutive principles of society, and do not regard citizens as better than the beasts of the farm, which are governed for the particular good of their owner, it is surprising and edifying

thirty years. The walls of the hated old dungeon were razed to the ground, and the people danced on the spot. For many years this gloomy castle, built in the year 1369 for a military fortress, had been used as a private prison in which to incarcerate all little children, men, or women who might sometime in the future, perhaps, prove troublesome to the reigning family. It was in this gloomy



THE MAIN HALL IN WASHINGTON'S HOME

On the left wall, between the two doors, hangs the key of the Bastille, presented to Washington by the French government, through Lafayette. Beneath the key is the letter which accompanied it

that the thirteen American colonies have recognized the dignity of man, and have drawn from the sources of the wisest philosophy their principles of government. The Americans know the rights of men and nations."—"Lettre," Vol. I, page 5.

July 14, and French Liberties

What July 4 is to the American people, July 14 is to the French. On July 14, 1789, the old Bastille prison in Paris was stormed, and the mob liberated all the prisoners found in its gloomy cells, one of whom had been a captive for

castle of the Bastille that the famous "man with the mask" was confined for so many years.

By means of *lettres de cachet*, the king caused to be apprehended thousands of honest citizens whenever his whim or fancy dictated. A sample of one of these *lettres de cachet* reads as follows:—

"Monsieur le Marquis de Jumilhac:—

"This letter is to tell you to receive into my chateau of the Bastille ———, and there detain him (or her) until new order from me, ———.

"Monsieur le Marquis de Jumilhac, I

pray God that he will have you in his holy keeping.

"Written at Versailles, the — day of —. [Signed] LOUIS."

Thus in the eyes of the French people, the Bastille came to be the emblem of despotism. Commenting upon its destruction, Myers, the historian, says:—

"The destruction of the Bastille is in the French Revolution, what the burning of the papal bull by Luther was to the

Through the Marquis de Lafayette, France sent to America the key of the demolished Bastille, Thomas Paine being commissioned by the marquis to convey the trophy to General Washington.

The following portions of the letter of presentation, written May 1, 1790, by Mr. Paine to General Washington, are of more than ordinary interest:—

"Sir: Our very good friend, the Marquis de Lafayette has entrusted to



THE LIBRARY OF WASHINGTON'S HOME

This room contains, among other things, his surveyor's instrument and his old flint-lock musket and powder-horn

Reformation. It was the death-knell not only of the Bourbon despotism in France, but of royal tyranny everywhere. When the news reached England, the great statesman Fox, perceiving its significance for liberty, exclaimed, 'How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world and how much the best!' — "*Medieval and Modern History*," page 588.

Thus the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille has become the national holiday of France. And it is interesting to note that France herself soon made public avowal of her gratitude that such an event had been made possible through the influence of American principles.

my care the key of the Bastille, and a drawing handsomely framed, representing the demolition of that detestable prison, as a present to your Excellency, of which this letter will more particularly inform. I feel myself happy in being the person through whom the marquis has conveyed this early trophy of the spoils of despotism, the FIRST RIPE FRUITS OF AMERICAN PRINCIPLES TRANSPLANTED INTO EUROPE, to his great master and patron. When he mentioned to me the present he intended, my heart leaped with joy. . . . That THE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICA OPENED THE BASTILLE is not to be doubted, and therefore the key comes to the right place."

General Washington received the key in New York, and on Aug. 10, 1790, wrote acknowledging Mr. Paine's "agreeable letter." Washington took the key to his home in Mt. Vernon, Va., and proudly exhibited the same to all visitors. The following letter, written Aug. 4, 1790, by Louis Otto, the French chargé d'affaires, to his government in Paris, shows how highly President Washington regarded the key:—

"In attending yesterday the public audience of the President, I was surprised by a question by the chief magistrate, whether I would like to see the key of the Bastille. One of his secretaries showed me at the same moment a large key, which had been sent to the President by desire of Marquis de Lafayette. . . . The Americans present looked at the key with indifference, and as if wondering why it had been sent. But the serene face of the President showed that he regarded it as an homage from the French nation."

This famous key is still on exhibition at the old home of Washington, in Mt. Vernon, Va. It is enclosed in a frame, and will be found on the left wall of the central hall as one enters the building. Below the key is a framed copy of the letter that accompanied it.

Statue of Liberty

Another national token of the devotion of the French nation to the American principles of civil and religious liberty is Bartholdi's famous Statue of Liberty, in New York harbor, which was presented to the United States by France, and dedicated Oct. 28, 1886. When visiting this noted monument some time ago, I copied the following inscription, not frequently quoted, found upon the inside wall at the foot of the statue:—

The New Colossus

"Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land,
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand

A mighty woman with a torch, whose
flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her
name
Mother of exiles. From her beacon-
hand
Glow world-wide welcome; her
mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities
frame.
'Keep, ancient lands, your storied
pomp!' cries she
With silent lips. 'Give me your
tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to
breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teem-
ing shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost
to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden
door!'"

It is gratifying to note that thousands of immigrants from other lands — Greeks, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Turks, Albanians, and other oppressed classes — anxiously watch from the decks of the incoming steamers for a first glimpse of this emblem of freedom, tears staining the faces of many as they catch their first view of its form through the gloom of the early morning. To them the Statue of Liberty means deliverance from the oppressive rule of a despotic government, and a promise of that dearest of human treasures, liberty.

I CONTEMPLATE with sovereign reverence the act of the whole American people which declares that their legislature should "make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus building a wall of separation between church and state.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

No trait of character is more rare, none more admirable, than thoughtful independence of the opinions of others, combined with a sensitive regard to the feelings of others.—*A. J. Froude.*

A Brief History of Sunday Legislation

Such Legislation Demonstrates Itself a Menace to the State, to the Church, and to the Individual

R. C. PORTER

IN beginning a study of the history of Sunday laws, it is proper to inquire what is embraced in Sunday legislation. The first Sunday law recorded in history is the edict of Constantine, A. D. 321:—

Constantine's Sunday Law

"Let all the judges and townspeople and the occupation of all trades rest on the venerable day of the sun: but let those who are situated in the country, freely and at full liberty attend to the business of agriculture; because it so often happens that no other day is so fit for sowing corn or planting vines; lest, the critical moment being let slip, men should lose the commodities granted them of Heaven."

Of this law the Encyclopedia Britannica, article "Sunday," says:—

"It was Constantine the Great who first made a law for the proper observance of Sunday; and who, according to Eusebius, appointed it should be regularly celebrated throughout the Roman empire."

It is plain that this Sunday law was a religious law. It was enacted that the people might rest on the venerable day of the sun. Looking back upon the history of the past from our time, no one will question but that the intent of Constantine was to honor the day of the sun as an act of religious veneration. How did the people of that time talk regarding it?

Dr. Hesse, in his "Bampton Lectures," pages 60-64, says: "He [Constantine] had an empire of strangely jarring elements which required to be consolidated. The best bond of union was obviously *agreement in religion*. Accordingly, he may have had in view the formation of a hybrid creed, which should embrace the common points, and carefully suppress the differences of heathenism and Christianity." "His enactment, then, though a political and a politic one, was not Sabbatarian, nor an advance toward

Sabbatarianism. . . . Eusebius well describes his policy. It was to effect the turning of mankind to God by gentle means, and any more decided declaration would have defeated that policy."

We find here precisely the same theory advanced that now obtains with reference to the object of obtaining the passage of Sunday laws. Not only Dr. Hesse, but the historian Milman declares that the passage of this Sunday edict was purely religious legislation. Milman informs us that Constantine held two titles, one representing his civil, and one his ecclesiastical authority. Emperor was his civil title, and Pontifex Maximus was his religious title. Milman also says it was by virtue of his religious title that the Sunday law of A. D. 321 was enacted.

Sunday Legislation Religious

We may therefore safely conclude that from their very inception, Sunday laws were religious statutes, and not merely civil ones. In the light of what such legislation brought upon the state in the days of Rome, we can see what it would now bring. In the fourth century, many thought such legislation very harmless. But the Sunday law enacted by Constantine was only the first step in a series of acts of parliament that logically followed. The next legislative step was closing the theaters and prohibiting games on Sunday. Then followed an edict suppressing heretical doctrines, and enjoining attendance at worship in the Catholic church. From Eusebius's "Life of Constantine," pages 175, 176, I quote:—

"Forasmuch, then, as it is no longer possible to bear with your pernicious errors, we give warning by this present statute that none of you henceforth presume to assemble yourselves together. We have directed accordingly that you be deprived of all the houses in which you are accustomed to hold your assemblies; and our care in this respect ex-

tends so far as to forbid the holding of your superstitious and senseless meetings, not in public merely, but in any private house whatsoever. Let those of you, therefore, who are desirous of embracing the true and pure religion, take the far better course of entering the Catholic Church, and uniting with it in holy fellowship, whereby you will be enabled to arrive at the truth. In any case, the delusions of your perverted understanding must entirely cease to mingle with, and mar the felicity of, our present times; I mean the impious and wretched double-mindedness of heretics and schismatics. For it is an object worthy of that prosperity which we enjoy through the favor of God, to endeavor to bring back those who in time past were living in the hope of future blessing, from all irregularity and error to the right path, from darkness to light, from vanity to truth, from death to salvation. And in order that this remedy may be applied with effectual power, we have commanded (as before said) that you be positively deprived of every gathering-point for your superstitious meetings; I mean all the houses of prayer (if such be worthy of the name) which belong to heretics, and that these be made over without delay to the Catholic Church; and that any other places be confiscated to the public service, and no facility whatever be left for any future gathering, in order that from this day forward none of your unlawful assemblies may presume to appear in any public or private place. Let this edict be made public."

It was, therefore, henceforth necessary that the people be compelled to attend to things divine. The Catholic St. Augustine proposed this theory:—

"It is indeed better that men should be brought to serve God by instruction than by fear of punishment or by pain. But because the former means are better, the latter must not therefore be neglected. . . . Many must often be brought back to their Lord, like wicked servants, by the rod of temporal suffering, before they attain to the highest grade of relig-

ious development."—*Schaff's "History of the Christian Church," Vol. II, sec. 27.*

The Inquisition in Germ

Of this theory Neander says: "It was by Augustine, then, that a theory was proposed which . . . contained the germ of that whole system of spiritual despotism of intolerance and persecution, which ended in the tribunals of the Inquisition."—*"Church History," Vol. II, page 217.* Neander adds: "In this way the church received help from the state for the furtherance of her ends." Neander's statement is correct. But these edicts which had been issued were only the introduction of what was to follow.

Gibbon says: "And as the emperor ascended from the holy fount, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects. . . . We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them."—*"Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chapter 27.*

And still further in the fifth Council of Toledo, can. 3d, the holy Fathers say: "We, the holy council, promulge this sentence pleasing to God, that whosoever hereafter shall succeed to the kingdom, shall not mount the throne till he hath sworn among others to permit no man to live in his kingdom who is not a Catholic."

This is the history of the first Sunday legislation, which in its inception was considered so harmless. It is perfectly safe to conclude that history is repeating itself to-day. The logic of Sunday legis-

lation is the same to-day as in the fourth century. Like causes still produce like results. Human nature has not changed. If statesmen are justly the guardians of the faith of the citizens of the state, then the persecutions of the dark ages were justifiable, and the statesmen of France were justified in legislating against the worship and service of any god in that state except the goddess of reason. At that time infidelity was the faith of the statesmen. Why should they not enforce their faith if that is the duty of men who hold official positions as members of parliament? Every sane man must see the inconsistency of such a theory.

The theory that we are at liberty to compel others to accept our faith is the logical result of the theory that Sunday legislation is legitimate civil legislation. That step taken, and the rest follows; and parliament finds itself committed to a policy of legislation which compels it to accept dictation from churchmen as to further acts of parliament. It was so from the fourth century forward, and it will be so in our time.

Pernicious Results

The spirit to dictate to others in matters of religion has often brutalized the kindest natures. Men of genius are as susceptible to this weakness as the more ignorant and depraved. St. Francis Xavier was a man of evident personal piety, yet he was the man mostly responsible for the Spanish Inquisition.

John Calvin was one of the most profound thinkers of his age, yet under the influence of the theory that he was responsible for the faith of his fellow men, his otherwise fair name is linked with the most unreasonable persecution of Baptists. Milton, whose matchless intellect could conceive so vividly the glories of paradise lost, had no pity for the sufferings of the Irish. It was the theory that the government has the right to assume the responsibility of the faith of its subjects that corrupted these men, and filled their hearts with base passions. Therefore when bigotry reigns, the pub-

lic offices are filled with the worst of men. Men who are true, men who can not be bribed nor induced to belie their profession, will not conform to a state-made creed. They will become martyrs before they will swerve from principle. Such men are forced from service, and banished or martyred as a sacrifice upon the altar of a state creed.

The state was organized as a civil institution, not a religious one. It is its legitimate work to deal with incivility and crime, but not with religion. Spurgeon, the great English clergyman, was right when he said:—

"As to getting the law of the land to touch our religion, we earnestly cry, 'Hands off! leave us alone!' *Your Sunday bills, and all other forms of Act-of-Parliament religion, seem to me to be all wrong.* Give us a fair field and no favor, and our faith has no cause to fear. Christ wants no help from Cæsar. I should be afraid to borrow help from government; it would look to me as though I rested on an arm of flesh, instead of depending on the living God. Let the Lord's day be respected by all means, and may the day soon come when every shop shall be closed on the Sabbath; but *let it be by force of conviction, and not by force of policemen; let true religion triumph by the power of God in men's hearts, not by the power of fines and punishments.*"

The Word of God in the hands of a godly clergyman, accompanied by the Holy Spirit, is a mighty argument to draw souls to Christ; but the fagot and the rack will be as convincing an argument in favor of Mohammedanism or infidelity as they are in favor of Christianity. The only safety for both church and state lies in their total separation.

WHEN any man has more privilege accorded him by law than his neighbor enjoys, that neighbor has been, by law, robbed of his natural and inalienable rights. That condition exists wherever Sunday laws are enforced upon those who observe another day.

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False Premises Bring Direful Conclusions

B. M. HEALD

THE first principle of the National Reform Association is that the United States as a nation is a moral being, accountable to God for its actions, having intelligence, conscience, will, and a soul to be lost or saved. It is taught that this is a Christian nation, that "Christianity has entered into the very life of the republic," that "Christianity is the law of the land;" in other words, "the state is a divine institution for moral ends and is instituted to accomplish moral purposes." Now if that be true, the next logical deduction is that this moral institution must have a code of moral laws.

The second position taken by the National Reform Association is that the government does have a code of morals, and this code is the ten commandments, as R. C. Allen, A. B., of Grove City, Pa., states: "The code of morals on which our government's functions are based is the Christian application of the ten commandments which are found in the Bible."

The third step would necessarily be that this moral law must be enforced, and any violation of this moral code of laws on the part of any citizen would be an immoral act and subject to penalty. To prove that this step is to be taken, I quote from the *Christian Statesman*: "Enforce upon all who come among us the laws of Christian morality." And again: "What is the purpose of civil government? Is it not to enforce the moral law? If people would keep the moral law voluntarily, there would be no need to use force with reference to it; but since they will not, there must be a power with authority to enforce it;" and "as long as there is sin in the world, there will be need of civil government to enforce the moral law." "Man being a moral being, he is therefore subject to the morals as enforced by the nation." "No person has the civil right to be immoral; nor has he the right to object to civil instruction in morality."—R. C. Allen, "The State and the Kingdom."

The fourth and last premise is that Sunday observance is the basis of all moral obligation, and its desecration is an immoral act and subject to penalty of civil law. The *Christian Statesman* of November, 1910, says: "The sabbath [Sunday] is a divine institution designed to express our acknowledgment of God's rights over us as our Creator. To observe the Lord's day is to acknowledge the basis or foundation of all moral obligations. To desecrate the sabbath [Sunday] . . . is to ignore the rights of God in so far as the observance of his appointed day is an acknowledgment of them." Hence, Sunday observance being the basis of all moral obligation, we have Sunday laws on the statute-books of all the States, except California, and a fine or imprisonment for violation of them.

But the principle on which the up-building of the kingdom of God is based is utterly unlike the principles enunciated above. It is this: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." By that scripture God has declared that it is not the province of the state to compel men to be Christians. He has commissioned his church to persuade "whosoever will" to accept Christ. The power of the gospel is "My Spirit," and not the might nor power of the state.

The direful conclusions of the National Reform Association, derived by reasoning from a false premise, are as follows: Inasmuch as the state is a moral institution, having a moral code of laws, man being a moral being having "no right to object to civil instruction of morality," and a violation of these moral laws being an immoral act, Sunday observance being a part of the moral law, as interpreted by the state, and its desecration an immoral or uncivil act, therefore "the man whose conduct tends to break down and obliterate the distinction between the Lord's day and other days is not in this a good citizen."—"A Plea for Religion in the Nation," by the National

Reform Association. Says a Canadian advocate of the same principles: "We must use the gentle methods; but if they fail, we shall be obliged to use stern methods; . . . if this is not agreeable, you will have to leave Canada; . . . and those who protest by word and mouth, and who write against this movement [the movement for enforcing an ordinance of the church by the power of the state] ought to be in the penitentiary."—*Rev. Dr. Hill, of the Quebec Lord's Day Alliance.* St. Augustine's dark-ages theory is being revived, that, "like wicked servants, men must be brought back to their Lord by the rod of temporal punishment." The age in which that doctrine was carried into practise

was the age of persecution. Its adoption in America can produce no other result.

With such principles arduously advocated by such organizations as the National Reform Association, the International Reform Bureau, the various Sunday-enforcement and civic-league organizations, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and others, all working for the enforcement of religious ordinances or customs by human law and penalties, it is too great a tax on credulity to ask us to believe that the days of persecution for conscientious Christians are gone by forever. That threatening and hateful cloud looms larger with each passing year.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Putting God Into the Constitution

REV. THOMAS B. GREGORY

A NEW political organization is in the field, and its name is the United Christian Party. The object of this party is the reformation of the Constitution of the United States.

The immortal document, drafted by master minds, debated for months in the historic convention of Philadelphia, and finally ratified by the States,—the document which was pronounced by no less a man than the late William E. Gladstone to be the noblest piece of work that was ever conceived by the human intellect,—is, in the opinion of the new party, a very poor affair after all.

The leaders of the new party do not hesitate to say that the Constitution is immoral—yes, downright wicked. Their reason for this extraordinary charge is simply this: The Constitution does not recognize God.

They want the American people to "recognize" God in their Constitution. It was old Dr. Sam Johnson, I believe, who said that while a man might be permitted now and then to say a foolish thing, he should not be allowed to insist that people should take his foolishness seriously.

A great many of the people of the United States are religious, but the Constitution is purely political. It is the instrument, not of religion, but of government. It was intended primarily not to be an arm of the church, but to regulate the purely temporal affairs of the people of the United States of America.

It is neither religious nor irreligious; it neither affirms God nor denies him; it simply attends to its business as the political chart of the great republic.

"This is a Christian country," the new party claims. The claim is a false one. It is probably true that the majority of the people in this country profess Christianity, but the nation is neither Christian nor pagan, Catholic nor Protestant, Jew nor Mohammedan.

So far as the Constitution is concerned, religion is at the option of the citizen. He may have any kind he likes, or none at all if he so pleases. In a word, the government of this country of ours is civil, not an ecclesiastical affair; an earthly democracy, not a heavenly theocracy.

With wisdom, I believe, our fathers concluded to separate the state from the

church, the state from religion; and if we know what is well for us, we shall see to it that the separation is forever maintained. I fancy I can hear the mighty voice of the American people replying as follows to the unreasonable demand of this new party:—

"Under this flag of ours a man may worship as he pleases, or, if he is so inclined, he may not worship at all; but 'Old Glory' shall never be permitted to throw its protecting folds over the fanaticism which would reenact among us the horrors of the dark ages."

"The Rights of Man"

C. E. HOLMES

"SUPPOSE one man believes in one God, and another believes in ten; what is that to the first? 'It neither picks his pocket nor breaks his leg.' Why should he persecute him?" Thus Lorenzo Dow, the "eccentric Methodist preacher," expressed himself regarding liberty of worship. However, his ideas on civil and religious liberty are not "eccentric," unless the opinions of such men as Madison, Jefferson, Washington, and Lincoln on the same question were "eccentric." In his "Rights of Man," published nearly one hundred years ago, Lorenzo Dow makes some observations which are so well stated, and are so much needed to-day, that we quote a few. In defining personal rights, he says:—

"Personal rights are those benefits or privileges which appertain to man in right or by virtue of his existence. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind; and also all those rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness, which are not injurious to the natural or personal rights of others. Of course the rights of the mind, religious liberty, freedom, and independence can not be taken from a man justly, but by his own consent; except only when taken by the laws of the Creator, who gave them, or when forfeited to society by some misdemeanor."—*Page 6.*

He clearly perceived the difference between tolerance and liberty. There are some, even to-day, who confuse toleration with the true principle of liberty. He continues:—

"Intolerance assumes to itself the right of withholding liberty of conscience. Toleration assumes the right of granting it. Both are despotisms in their nature. Man worships not himself, but his Maker. And liberty of conscience, which he claims, is not for the service of himself, but of his God. In this case, therefore, we must necessarily have the associated ideas of two beings—the mortal, who renders the worship, and the Immortal Being, who is worshiped.

"Toleration, therefore, places itself not between man and man, nor between church and church, nor between one denomination of religion and another, but between God and man; between the being who worships, and the Being who is worshiped; and by the same act of assumed authority by which it tolerates man to pay his worship, it presumptuously and blasphemously sets itself up to tolerate the Almighty to receive it."—*Page 14.*

To prove the evil of such a position, he gives the following illustration:—

"Suppose a bill was brought into any legislature, entitled 'An act to tolerate or grant liberty to the Almighty to receive the worship of a Jew or Turk,' or, 'to prohibit the Almighty to receive it,' all men would startle and call it blasphemy. There would be an uproar. The presumption of toleration in religious matters would then present itself unmasked. But the presumption is not the less because the name of man only appears to those laws; for the associated ideas of the worshiper and the worshiped can not be separated. Well may one ex-

claim: 'Who then art thou, vain dust and ashes,—by whatsoever name thou art called, whether an emperor or a king, a bishop or a state, or anything else,—that obtrudest thine insignificance between the soul of man and its Maker?'—*Page 14.*

He also freely comments upon the results which obtain when this liberty to worship is infringed upon by governments:—

"All national religious establishments or churches established by law, have been a curse to mankind, and a pest to society. Vice and corruption in religion are encouraged and upheld, and virtue lies depressed. If a man from a principle of duty would support a religion voluntarily, by being compelled to do it he is prevented the opportunity of showing the virtue of his heart, and the influence of his example is lost. If his religion be different from that established by law, his conscience is bound, and he is prevented from supporting his own religion by taking away from him that which he would give to his own minister, for the support of those in whom he does not believe. Law religion will cause people to be hypocrites, but can not cure them

of error. A man must be convinced in his judgment, by evidence to his understanding, before he is converted in his heart. To form 'articles of faith,' for people to subscribe to, under severe penalties, is not founded on common sense, nor on equitable principle. For it supposes people capable of believing without reason or evidence, which is contrary to the law of nature, and repugnant to natural justice. It creates broils, animosities, and contentions in society, and raises a domineering spirit in one, and a spirit of resentment and resistance in another."—*Pages 12-18.*

The truth of these statements is attested by history. Mr. Dow's statements are so axiomatic that they need only to be heard in order for their truth to be recognized. Because they are true, and so easily demonstrable, the organized persistent effort in our day to establish religion by law appears the more unreasonable and the more difficult to comprehend. It is still true that history repeats itself, and there is being repeated in our day a chapter of history whose perusal has tinged the cheek of every true Christian with the blush of shame.

Takoma Park, D. C.

State Rule Over the Church

Illustrating the Inconsistency of the Union of Religion and the State

It is a new principle, scarce a hundred years old, that the church shall be free of state control. It was put as an amendment into the Constitution of the United States as a condition of its adoption by the States, that religion should be free, but this did not prevent the separate States from supporting religion by public taxation, nor did it prevent religion necessarily having a certain control within the State. Now every State constitution follows the United States Constitution, and no law can be enacted that shall in any way control the action of a church. The most the courts can do is to determine what the ecclesiastical rule is in a case where property is involved.

But this sensible and liberal rule of

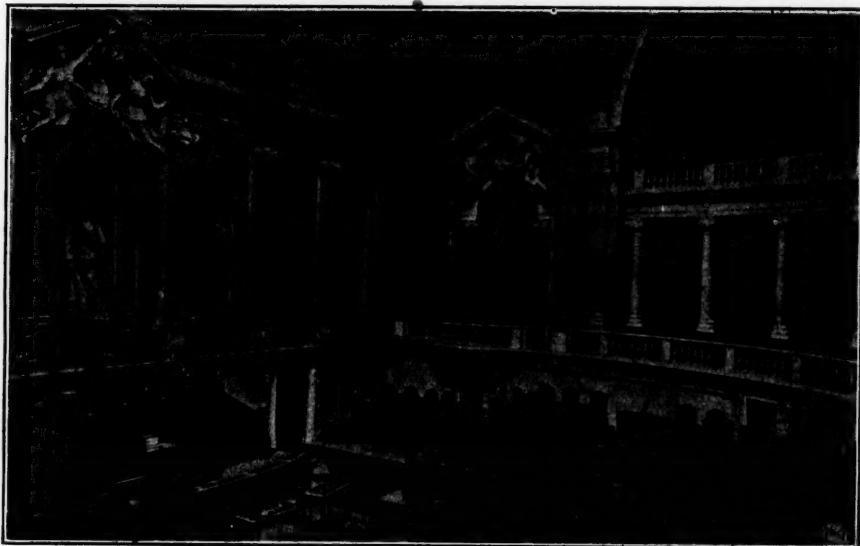
separation of church and state is quite new. Jewish law knew nothing of it [But Jesus Christ knew of it and taught it.—*ED. LIBERTY.*], and the Christian church followed the Jewish precedent from the time of Constantine. In Germany the government appoints the professors in the theological seminaries, and in England the king is head of the church and appoints the bishops. In France, until within the last two or three years, the government, which was charged with being atheistic and ruled by Freemasons, had the right to nominate all bishops to the pope, and no papal rescript could be promulgated without the consent of the government, which had the right to forbid a bishop to go to Rome.

And when the government made a final separation of church and state, and broke the Concordat, the church complained bitterly.

The conditions in England are very strange. As we have said, the king is head of the church. Thus a premier who is a Methodist or a Jew would control the appointments of bishops. This is an impertinence, and utterly ridiculous to American intelligence. Of course, the government means to act wisely and gra-

compelled to accept against his will.

Now a bill has been drawn up for action by Parliament to put an end to such a scandalous trial as that of Canon Hensley will be. The bill would make it lawful for any clergyman of the Church of England to preach in a dissenting chapel, and for any member of a dissenting church to preach in an Anglican church. This is as it ought to be, but it is not the duty or right of the state, of Parliament, to reform the



LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC

The body which meets here is the youngest national legislative body in the world

ciously, but this is none of its business.

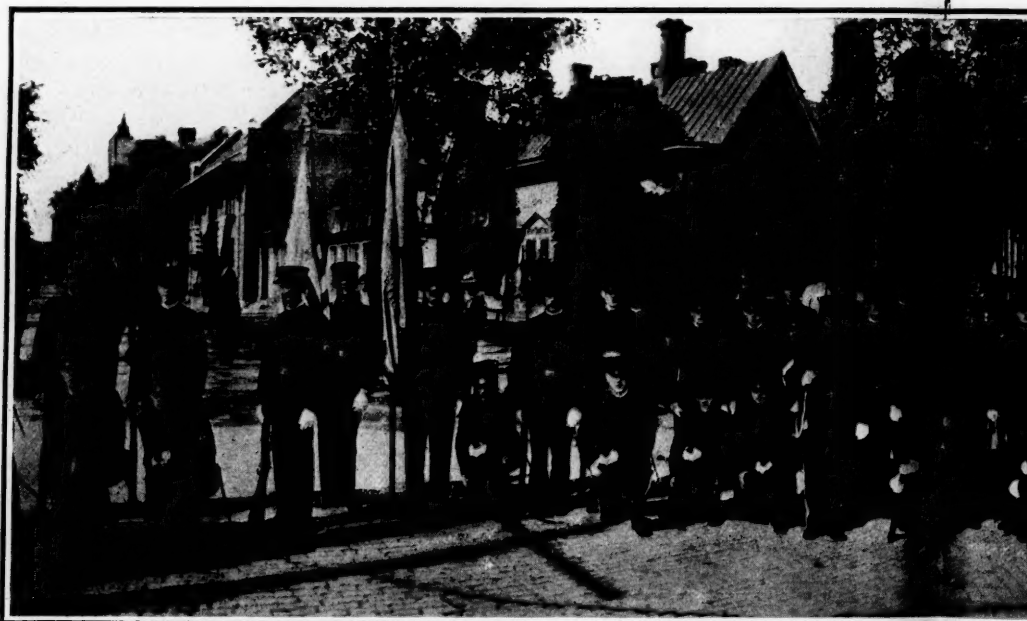
A curious case is now presented to Parliament. Canon Hensley, one of the ablest clergymen in the Anglican Church, who is in charge of St. Margaret's, the fashionable church attached to Westminster Abbey, accepted an invitation to preach in a nonconformist "chapel," as they call it, in Birmingham. A rigid rector, in whose parish the chapel was situated, forbade him to preach there, but he did it just the same. He thought it an act of impudence; but the rector was within his rights under ecclesiastical law, and he has brought charges against Canon Hensley, which the bishop is

church. It can under the British constitution, but that constitution ought to be changed. The High-churchmen, who believe that nonconformity is schism, have the right to protest against what they believe to be wrong. Let the church reform itself within itself, and not be forced by brute law. We do not wonder that a sentiment in favor of separation of church and state is growing in the High-church, or, at least, in ritualistic circles. They are saying much of Erastianism, but not yet with any seriousness, or they would not resist the proposal to disestablish the church of Wales.—*The Independent*.

American Federation of Catholic Societies

At the tenth annual convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, held at Columbus, Ohio, August 21-24, there was demonstrated anew the growth of the spirit of cooperation between the Catholic Church and professed Protestantism. Both these bodies of

vention. While the great procession of the federation was threading its way through the streets of Columbus on Sunday morning, August 20, with banners waving, bands playing, and cathedral bells ringing, the beautiful chimes of Trinity Episcopal Church were heard



A COMPANY OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS, PART OF THE PROCESSION

The Vatican has instructed the Catholics of this country to "make America Catholic."

professed Christians are coming to realize that there are certain ends which each has in view which can not be accomplished without cooperation in purpose and effort. The invitations from each to the other in years gone by have been elsewhere alluded to, as well as the invitations for cooperation extended to Protestants by the foster-father of the federation, Bishop McFaul, of Trenton.

In this connection it may not be out of place to mention two rather significant incidents that occurred during this con-

above all, beating out sacred melodies in honor of this Catholic convention and the visiting Catholic dignitaries. The honor was greatly appreciated, and a committee from the federation waited upon the Episcopal pastor to thank him in person, on behalf of the society, for what his church had done.

At one of the principal public meetings of the convention, Dr. Washington Glad-den, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, was seated upon the platform among Catholic priests and

bishops, lending the influence of his presence to the occasion and to the movement for which the occasion stood. These are but incidents showing a tendency, a drift. It is not a drift on the part of Romanism toward Protestantism and liberty of conscience. Rome stands still in that particular; the drift is the other way. Her spectacular demonstra-

influence, and influence begets numbers again, and so the process continues by a sort of arithmetical progression.

The American Federation of Catholic Societies is said to have a membership at the present time of about three million voters. It is composed of the members of other Catholic secret societies, welded into this one in order that this compact



OF THE PROCESSION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

e America Catholic." These young men, with arms in their hands, are expected to help

tions catch the eye of the unthinking. Her protestations (at the present time) of loyalty to the Bible are influencing many in her direction who fear and deprecate the destructive teachings of the Higher Criticism. And her increasing numbers in this country are winning power and place for her adherents; and that power and that official preferment have influence again to increase the numbers. As her numbers increase, her demands also increase, and are more quickly granted. Thus numbers beget

mass of Catholic voters may be used quickly and advantageously to accomplish the purposes and protect the interests of the Catholic hierarchy in America. Wherever its conventions are held, monster parades are organized, the city is decorated in gala attire, and State and municipal officials are brought into the program to review the parade and give addresses of welcome. In Columbus the reviewing stand for these officials was erected on the very front of the State capitol grounds, so that the State itself,

seemingly, was made a partner in the proceedings, even as the nation was made a partner in the Catholic mass on the Monument grounds in the city of Washington not long ago.

In honor of the convention, the city of Columbus was gaily bedecked in flags and bunting. The flag which predominated in this decoration of the city was the flag of the federation, bearing the motto: "In Union Is Strength." The

sufficiently clear. One of the first uses to which the organization will be put is the securing of a division of the public school fund, so that Rome's parochial schools may be supported out of the public treasury. The demand for such a division she reiterates at each convention.

Another use to which the federation will be put is the securing of enforced Sunday observance. Bishop Canevin, of



OFFICIALS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

Back row, first figure at left, President Edward Feeney; third from left, Secretary Anthony Matre.
Seated, first figure at left, Bishop McFaul; second, Bishop Mesmer

center of this flag bore the escutcheon of the American government, with the cross of the Catholic Church stamped upon that national emblem. This and the palm branch of victory which stretched the length of the flag spoke loudly of Rome's purpose to "make America Catholic," and of her belief in the certainty of her victory in that particular.

There is no question but that Rome will use these three million voters to carry out her political designs in America. In fact, the organization's own declaration of purpose makes that matter

Pittsburg, Pa., made this plain at this convention; and that they were willing and even anxious to join with the Protestant bodies of the land in bringing it about was plainly declared by Bishop McFaul.

That the federation is not afraid to say, "Hands off," to the government itself, the federation's interference with the government's proposed action in the Kongo matter abundantly attests, and this interference is remarked upon and applauded at each succeeding convention. An organization has thus been built

up in the United States, which, because of its primary allegiance to a foreign potentate, dares practically to defy its own government. This is a matter that is worthy of the most serious thought on the part of Americans.

The Catholic Church is now perfecting plans for the organization of a similar federation in Canada and Great Britain, so that ultimately the entire

English-speaking world shall be controlled, to the advantage of the Catholic Church, through these federations; and through a control of those nations she hopes ultimately to gain control of all the world. The plan is deeply laid and comprehensive; and so far as our observation goes, there seems to be no earthly power able to prevent its consummation.

The Greatest Issue in America

BY THE EDITOR

ONE of the most tremendous issues that has ever been before the people of the United States is before them now. It is not the tariff question—that is insignificant beside it. The country can exist, and the people can be happy and prosperous with or without a tariff. That is only a matter of degrees, and not of absolute essentials. This issue, this question, is not as to whether only a portion of the people shall be free, as in the days of sixty-one. It is the question of whether any of them shall be free.

The dangerous feature of the situation is that the people are not awake to it, and that the issue is presented to them by those to whom they are accustomed to look for counsel in spiritual matters.

Within a very few years there has been a very great increase in the number of societies that are seeking to mix the affairs of the kingdom of Christ with the affairs of the kingdoms and republics of this world, seemingly unable to realize the terrible consequences, even to themselves, should the church ever be in a position to dictate to the state, or the state be in a position to dictate to the church, in this country. The nation was builded substantially and securely, and the liberties of the people were thought to be sufficiently guaranteed, so that the

sad experiences of the people in centuries gone by might not be repeated, at least not in America, and that America's influence might help to make such experiences impossible in other quarters of the globe.

One influential organization has set itself the task of reforming the Constitution so that it shall no longer speak the language of liberty, but a language foreign to the principles of freedom; and a bill has already been introduced into Congress looking to the satisfying of that organization's demands.

Another organization claiming a constituency of about eighteen millions, has expressed its determination to bring pressure to bear upon the state in order to forward the supposed interests of the church.

Still another organization, numbering about three million adherents and completely under the dominance of a religious system hoary with age, has had set for it by its superiors the task of controlling legislation, both state and national, in the interests of the church to which it owes allegiance. And not only that, but it is expected to tie the hands of the highest officials of the government of the United States when any action is proposed which is considered inimical to the interests of that particular church.

In the State of Indiana there has recently been brought into being an organization which is to be the parent of similar organizations in all the States, and whose object is to unite into one civic union all civic societies now in existence in the various municipalities of the country, that they may bring their agglomerated strength and influence to bear upon lawmakers and lawbreakers. The enactment and enforcement of such laws as the churches of the country desire made and enforced, is the ultimate purpose in the minds of that organization's leaders. It will unite Catholics and Protestants and those who are neither, for the enactment and enforcement of religious laws.

These organizations are only four out of many that are committed to the same idea. Their combined adherents number many millions, and are of a class that is supposed to stand for all that is best in American manhood and citizenship; but the principles espoused are more dangerous to American liberties than were the soldiers of King George or the mighty armies of the Confederacy. While those worked from the outside in open and honorable attack, these work from the inside, undermining the very foundations of the national structure their forefathers builded so religiously and so well.

As certainly as the sun shines, they who demand that religion and the state shall be joined, that matters of religious custom, rituals, or ceremonies shall become matters of civil legislation and police enforcement, have thrown their rights and their liberties into the yawning hopper of the mill of oppression, and will one day suffer in body and soul, or will become hypocrites to escape it.

The rewriting of the Constitution of the United States so that it shall declare the government a Christian government,

and thus make a legal basis for the enactment of distinctively Christian laws, is not an affair of small moment. It means that the principles upon which the nation was founded and which have made it the prosperous and peaceful land it has been, will have to be abandoned, and the cruel principles of our colonial governments and of the governments of some of the darkest nations in the world, will have to be established in their stead.

In those governments either the state was doing the bidding of the church, or the church and state were one; and every state thus panoplied with human power has put an iron heel upon the consciences of individuals, has forgotten all the tenderness of the gospel of Christ, and has served the devil with zeal and vigor, while she wrote red chapters in the history of the country and in the history of Christian experience.

This confederation of religious forces has it in mind to play no mean part in forcing down the thumbscrews of oppression upon the consciences of the people. Said the president of the Civic Union: "The right of private judgment has been so overworked that we have so many denominations." Now, the glory of the gospel of Christ is that it recognizes and respects the right of private judgment. The glory of this nation does not lie one half so much in its military achievements as it does in the fact that the right of private judgment in religious concerns is respected and protected. The right of private judgment was the key that unlocked a Roman monastery and released a Luther to bear the light of religious liberty and a free gospel in the midst of the darkness of a night created by the denial of that right. But the Civic Union declares that "the right of private judgment has been overworked" in this country.

Said the chairman of the great Federal

Council of the Churches of Christ in America: "We stand, first of all, upon the distinctive principle of the right of private judgment, . . . but the day for insistence upon that right, in the judgment of many of us, has gone by." He declared that he did not want to see his denomination "so emphasize the right of private judgment as to injure cooperation and federation." The position is simply this: While the right of private judgment was the platform of the Reformation, the time for standing upon that platform as the great Reformer did, has gone by. Thus organization number two abandons the principle; and it is a principle that is as necessary to true conversion and acceptance with God as the sunlight is to the day. They can not be separated.

The National Reform Association espouses the same dangerous and un-American principles in these words, which were spoken at the Winona Lake (Ind.) National Reform Institute in August last: "The conscience of the individual must not be exalted above the conscience of the state. . . . The state has rights; it has a character, a soul, a conscience, a life, of its own; and it is bound to maintain its rights as against the so-called rights of the individual." That principle, making the state a moral entity, which must have a religion of its own and a conscience of its own, and must ex-

ercise them even at the expense of sacrificing the consciences of its individual subjects, does in reality outlaw all rights of conscience, all private judgment. This organization thus makes itself a true yokefellow of the other two.

The American Federation of Catholic Societies, which is the organized political whip of the Roman hierarchy in America, stands upon the same foundation as the other three. It is under the direction

of the Holy See and amenable to all the decrees of the Vatican. Hear one of those decrees: "It is permitted neither to think nor to teach otherwise than the court of Rome directs."

— *Pope Marcellus's Decrees, Corpus Juris Canonici, part 2, chapter 18.* So this federation falls in line with the other three; but not simply as departing from the principles of the right of private judgment, but as denying the right in toto.

All these organizations have the same basic idea—the dominance of religious societies in civil matters; the enactment, through

their influence, of laws which shall have to do with the religious concerns of the people, and the enforcement upon the people of such laws; and not only so, but to alter, if necessary, the fundamental law of the land—the Constitution—so as to make such legislation constitutional.

Many scout the idea of any such union for that or any other purpose; but the parties directly involved do not



STATUE OF LIBERTY, NEW YORK HARBOR

See reference to important inscription inside this monument, in article on page 15

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scout it. Said the National Reform Association through its official organ, the *Christian Statesman*:—

Whenever they [the Roman Catholics] are willing to cooperate in resisting the progress of political atheism, we will gladly join hands with them.—*Issue of Dec. 11, 1884.*

This declaration has never been retracted. By the term "political atheism" they designate the principles of the American government with religion separated from the foundations of government. Those to whom they made this bid for union of effort express their willingness in these words:—

There are many Christian issues to which Catholics could come together with non-Catholics and *shape civil legislation* for the public weal. . . . We should seek an alliance with non-Catholics for proper Sunday observance.

This pronunciamento was adopted at the Catholic Lay Congress at Baltimore, Nov. 12, 1889.

The National Reform Association has two chief objects: the compulsory observance of Sunday, and such a rewriting of the national Constitution as will make it Christian. Hear what that power with whom she proposes to join hands says:—

All Catholics should do all in their power to cause the Constitution of states, and legislation, to be modeled on the principles of the true church.—*Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, 1885.*

On the enforcement of Sunday and the remodeling of the Constitution, these two organizations are agreed; for Rome speaks of the nations as "states," and has this country particularly in mind in the above.

At the meeting of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, in 1905, this striking statement of purpose was made:—

I trust that one of the practical results of this conference will be the organiza-

tion of a force that lawbreakers and law-makers will respect and heed when great questions of morals are involved. . . . Rulers may ignore sects, but they will respect the church. This federation will compel an audience, and it will speak with power if it will put aside its differences and make its agreement its argument.—*Report of the Council, page 488.*

That means church dictation in politics, and for that principle the other organizations named openly stand. Now further:—

The federated church will stand by the Lord's day. . . . We will preach, declare, contend for the Christian sabbath. . . . That is the safeguard of a vital Christianity, as a vital Christianity is the safeguard of a nation.—*Id., page 229.*

And the following statement must go with the other two:—

Let us defend the rights of Roman and Russian Catholics in the United States. Let us stand by a really American Roman Catholic Church.—*Id., page 618.*

The Civic Union stands for these propositions unqualifiedly. Thus we have four organizations, two of which number their adherents by the millions, working zealously for such a federation of forces as will, if successful, completely obliterate from the fundamental law of the land the guaranties of liberty that have made America all she is that is worthy of imitation. That federation proposes as an earnest of future accomplishments to force a religious ordinance upon the people, the keeping of a sabbath. If successful in its objects there is no realm of human affairs, religious or secular, which it may not invade on the same pretext. The American people have never been called upon to deal with a question that had more involved in it than this one has. The movement is an attack upon the fundamental principles of this government and upon the dearest liberties of the people.

National Religion

THIS expression has been so often repeated that it begins to have a familiar sound. It is constantly upon the lips of a certain class of professional reformers. It is reiterated with great persistency in their writings. It seems to have a kind of unctuous flavor which gives great satisfaction without involving much individual inconvenience. But it is based upon a false assumption, and is an altogether unwarranted combination of words. The false assumption is the idea that the nation is a moral being, capable of professing and practising religion, repenting of sin and exercising faith in a Saviour. Upon this foundation of wood, hay, and stubble is built the whole structure of the National Reform organization.

Our attention is again directed to this question by an editorial in the *Christian Statesman* of September, 1911, in which official announcement is made of the vital purpose of the National Reform Association. To quote:—

The Executive Committee of the National Reform Association some time ago resolved to adopt the motto "A Revival of National Religion," as expressive of its work in and for our own country, the United States of America. It serves to inform the people as to the real spirit and purpose of our movement, and it assists ourselves to a clearer understanding of our work and a livelier interest in it.

That national religion means something entirely different and distinct from personal or individual religion, and that the latter will not take the place of the former, is evident from this further extract from the same article:—

This statement of our cause will influence many minds to regard it favorably. Christian men and women are familiar with the idea of revivals of religion in individual life and in their churches. They know that some of the

greatest blessings which God has bestowed on America have come by means of wide-spread revivals of religion. A little reflection will convince them that such a revival is as reasonable and possible in the sphere of the national life as in ecclesiastical life.

These glittering generalities may please those who do not think for themselves, but who like a flow of religious phrases. Suppose, however, that we follow the suggestion made and indulge in "a little reflection."

What is the nature of this national religion? What will be the creed of this national religion, and who will formulate it? Who will profess this national religion, and how will the worship be conducted? Who will be the judge of orthodoxy in this national religion, and how will the financial support be provided?

These questions are not merely theoretical, but are most practical, and they at once suggest the real nature of this proposed movement. Is it not perfectly clear, upon "a little reflection," that this announced purpose to have a revival of national religion is tantamount to an effort to establish a state religion? How can the state have a religion except there be a state religion,—a union of religion and the state?

In this national religion God must of course be recognized. Those who urge this movement have been trying for years to have a recognition of God in the Constitution of the United States. But whose idea of God will prevail? Men differ widely in their views concerning the personality and the character of God, and what would suit the belief of the conservative would be very objectionable to the liberal.

The doctrine of the atonement for sin through the merits of Jesus Christ, a doctrine absolutely fundamental in all orthodox creeds of the past generation,

is now repudiated by many who claim to be defenders of the Christian religion. A so-called Christian evolution has taken the place of the gift of righteousness brought to us through the acceptance of Jesus as the Lord our righteousness, and the whole story of the fall and the redemption through Christ is regarded as a myth. Will orthodox Christians or liberal evolutionists write the creed for this national religion?

Of course we know without proceeding further with our reflections, that the national religion will be the religion of those who carry this movement to a successful issue, if such a thing is possible; but this means that there will be a religion of the state which will be contrary to the belief of the majority of its citizens, and we shall have repeated those dark chapters in history when a minority, having gained the power, force upon the majority an outward observance of forms and ceremonies which misinterpret the feelings of the heart.

After "a little reflection," we are decidedly of the opinion that this announced purpose to have a revival of national re-

ligion is simply the old purpose couched in a little different phraseology — the purpose to unite religion and the state and to have a state religion. To this purpose in any form we are unalterably opposed. We believe in the Christian religion and belong to the so-called conservative class; but because we believe in the real principles of the religion of Jesus Christ, we repudiate any attempt to have a union of religion with the state or to force religion upon any one. It is the very genius of Christianity that one should be permitted to believe or to disbelieve, to practise or not to practise religion, and that his choice should be absolutely free. Religious liberty is not the liberty to believe and to act with the majority, but the liberty to stand entirely aloof from the majority in belief and practise, provided always that one does not infringe upon the equal rights of others in so doing.

We do not approve of a national religion, but we do approve most heartily of personal religion, and we labor and pray for a revival of that kind of religion in the hearts of all.

W. W. P.

Sunday Legislation and the Laboring Man

WHEN it has been conclusively shown that Sunday laws are religious in character, and therefore contrary to the American idea of civil government, then it is that the advocates of such legislation plead for such laws in the interest of the overworked laboring man.

This magazine believes that the greatest consideration possible should be shown toward the laboring man; for to that class of citizens our country is indebted for its unparalleled prosperity. It is this class of men that clears our forests, builds our cities, constructs our railroads and steamships, digs our canals, and mines our wealth. Every citi-

zen should encourage in every way that is proper and legitimate those who are the real sinew and strength of our land.

We believe that the laboring man should be protected as far as possible from the various woes that threaten his happiness, but this relief, or protection, will not be secured through the medium of Sunday laws. Instead of such laws being in the interest of the laboring man, they are a menace to him, because they transform the day — Sunday — into a period of physical bondage greater than that which would be caused by seven days' labor in a week.

Has it never occurred to the laboring

man that it is only the man of wealth and pleasure who is not affected by Sunday laws? The recreation and diversion that the laboring man might enjoy are prohibited to him, while the rich can enjoy his automobile rides and other diversions, which the laboring man can not afford. Touching this point, State Senator Spellacy, of Connecticut, recently said in a speech before the Connecticut legislature:—

You are making socialists and anarchists when you make one class stand idle and watch the other class go by in their automobiles.

It is being demonstrated that the laboring man, in his organized capacity, can secure what he wants without the aid of legislation; hence, if he desires his Sunday rest, he can obtain it without seeking it through a class of legislation which would bring unnumbered evils in its train.

It may be argued that, since the state regulates the number of hours that should constitute a legal day's work, it has an equal right to regulate the number of days that should constitute a week's work. It should be remembered by those who reason thus that there is a vast difference between the state's defining the hours that should constitute a legal day's work and defining how a man should employ his time one-seventh of each week. The man who works eight hours for a legal day's work has the right to employ the remaining sixteen hours of each twenty-four as he may elect; and for the state to define how he should use it would be to invade his natural rights. Likewise, the state would be going beyond her legitimate sphere should she restrict a man's work to six days and define how he should employ his time on the seventh day.

Thus falls to the ground at once the argument that, because the state has a right to define the hours that should con-

stitute a legal day's work, it has a right also to say what a person should or should not do on Sunday.

The advocates of Sunday laws attempt to show that a person who disregards Sunday rest goes steadily down grade physically until he becomes bodily a total wreck, while the one who regularly rests on Sunday is strong and healthy.

It would be well for those who advance such arguments to let their minds revert to the history of the past, and note whether such arguments can be sustained by facts as revealed in history. To illustrate: The ancient Greeks were remarkable because of their great physical strength and endurance, yet they observed no weekly day of rest. Neither did the victorious Romans observe a regular weekly period of rest.

The following testimony from Bishop Andrews, of the Methodist Church, on his return from China, is directly to the point:—

In China they have no weekly division of time, no weekly rest day, merely annual festivals. They work right along all the time, with no day of rest as such; yet they live to a very advanced age. This fact has led one of the most careful thinkers who has ever been sent as a missionary to China, to raise the serious question whether the great purpose of the Sabbath is not for worship and communion with the other world.

Those who will give this question thoughtful consideration will see that people are not reduced to physical wrecks because of Sunday toil, but because of a continuous lack of rest in sleep at night. Instead of obtaining the needed rest in order to endure the trying ordeals incident to the strenuous lives that men are living, many are spending hours each night in pleasure and revelry that should be spent in absolute rest in sleep.

From these considerations we would not have it understood that we are argu-

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ing that the Sabbath should be spent in pleasure and sports of various kinds. The writer is a firm believer in absolute rest from all worldly or secular pursuits on the Sabbath, but all this should be the result of one's own choice, and not in any way compulsory.

The late Charles Spurgeon aptly said:—

Let the Lord's day be respected by all means, . . . but let it be done by the force

of conviction, and not by the force of policemen; let true religion triumph by the power of God in men's hearts, and not by fines and imprisonments.

"The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." These words were spoken by Jesus Christ, the author of the Sabbath, after rebuking the Pharisees because of their needless traditions which had made it a burden instead of a blessing.

K. C. R.

A Threatened Invasion of Vital Principles

Three Congressmen Sound a Warning

THE extra session of the sixty-second Congress was in many respects a memorable one. Measures affecting the relation of the States to the federal government have been introduced, and considered very fully. Likewise, changes in the matter of popular elections involving fundamental principles of the government were proposed. These measures brought forth stirring speeches from members of the Senate, as well as of the House of Representatives; and as these speeches reflect very largely the voice of the fathers of our country, we print herein excerpts from three of them, and recommend them to the attention of liberty-loving American citizens, not because we are desirous of dealing with the "initiative and referendum and recall," but because principles are enunciated in these addresses which apply directly to the question of religious liberty.

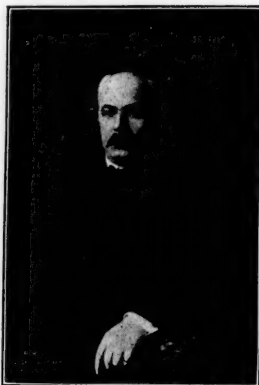
The first extract below is from Mr. Crumpacker, a representative from the State of Indiana.

"The Infallibility of the Majority"

The doctrine of the infallibility of the majority is a dangerous political heresy. It inevitably leads to the overthrow of all limitations on the powers of government. If majorities can make no mistakes, there can be no need for constitutions when

laws are made directly by the people. The laws will be right simply because they will have the sanction of the majority behind them. The Declaration of Independence proclaims that all men are created equal, and are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that it is the paramount duty of government to safeguard the citizen in the enjoyment of those rights.

There is a latitude of liberty that belongs to every citizen by virtue of his manhood that no power on earth can justly take from him. This liberty is essential to his growth and development, and to the fulfilment of that destiny which is appointed to him by the God who created him. Government and laws and institutions are ordained for the protection of the citizen in those fundamental rights. It is as great a wrong for the government itself to invade those natural rights as it is for the assassin or the high-



REPRESENTATIVE CRUM-
PACKER, OF INDIANA

wayman or a band of conspirators to do so. Those rights do not emanate from government, but it is the vital purpose of government to protect the citizens in the proper enjoyment of them. It is as great an offense against manhood and civilization for those rights to be invaded or destroyed by a majority vote in a democracy, as it is to invade or destroy them by the edict of an absolute monarch.

The essential liberties of the people are secured by absolute limitations upon the power of government. It is the office of the Constitution to embody those limitations, and the duty of the executive officers and of the courts to enforce them. They are of especial importance to the weak and the poor; for the strong and the rich are better able to take care of themselves. There can be no liberty in the real sense unless the government is effectively denied the power to invade the inalienable rights of the citizen. . . .

Liberty is not a matter of grace; it is an inherent right; and history abounds in illustrations of the truth that real liberty is secure only where the government is powerless to invade it. There is as much, if not greater, need of limitations on the power of government in pure democracies as in monarchies.

There is no despotism in history more cruel and merciless than the despotism of an unbridled majority.—*Congressional Record*, May 29, 1191, page 1606.

In the Senate a resolution admitting Arizona into the Union called forth many opinions pro and con, because of a provision in the constitution of that Territory for removing officials through what is known as the recall. On this question, fundamental principles affecting the integrity of our national being, were dwelt upon by several senators. From the speeches of two of these we quote. Senator Root, among other things, said:—

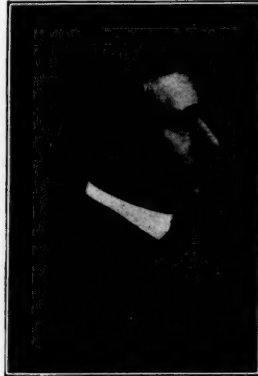
"Justice Is Above Majorities"

Sometimes such questions arise from the conflict of religious opinions. I have heard it said in this hall to-day that courts can never pass upon religious questions. Ah, Mr. President, would any senator say that no court can enforce the provisions of our Constitution in favor of religious liberty? New sects are continually arising in our country,

and the votaries of the religious views of those sects are at the beginning small and insignificant minorities. Questions regarding their rights as religious bodies, questions regarding their rights to freedom of worship and of expression, are protected by the provisions of our constitutions, and against the wish, against the prejudice, against the passion of the vast majority of the people; the courts, and the courts alone, can maintain the rights of the few to pursue the dictates of their own consciences rather

than the will of the majority. . . .

The framers of our government were largely men who had been religiously brought up, and who had inherited deep religious convictions, and among those convictions was the realization of the fact that among all the virtues that it is incumbent upon men to cultivate and to seek, the virtue of self-restraint stands one of the first. That view of human strength and weakness, sir, lies at the bottom of the religion which we all profess. Whatever be the creed, the denomination, the name, there is underlying the religion of all of us, as it underlay the religions of the framers of our government, the knowledge that we are fallible, prone to evil, weak in the face of temptation, liable to go astray, and that we sorely need to restrain ourselves from following our own impulses, by the rule of principles—principles of religion, principles of morality, principles of justice. We know that but for some ruling principle, we are sure to err, and that our holding to the straight path depends upon our fidelity not to the impulse or the wish of the moment, but our



SENATOR ROOT, OF
NEW YORK

fidelity to the principles that control our lives and conduct.

Many of the framers of the republic were men who inherited the traditions of a theocratic government, in which men were controlled, as against their own impulses and passions, by the dictates that were handed down in the revelation from the Divine Ruler. In a belief which we can not gainsay to-day, they undertook to establish for this government a code of fundamental principles of justice, of equality; principles formulated in specific rules of conduct that make practical their application. . . .

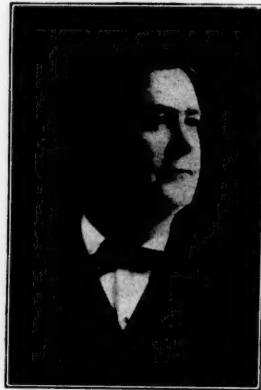
That great array of fundamental rules of justice, of liberty, of human rights, which I say the American republic has imposed upon itself, is the great secret of the success of the American experiment in government, the maintenance of justice and order, individual liberty and individual opportunity in this vast continent, among 90,000,000 people. . . .

So, sir, I say that this provision of the Arizona constitution strikes at the very heart of our system of government. It goes deeper than that. This provision, sir, is not progress, it is not reform; it is degeneracy. It is a movement backward to those days of misrule and unbridled power out of which the world has been slowly progressing under the leadership of those great men who established the Constitution of the United States. It is a move backward to those days when human passion and the rule of men obtained, rather than the law and the rule of principles; for it ignores, it sets at naught, the great principle of government and of civilized society, the principle that justice is above majorities.

I care not how small may be the numbers of a political faith or a religious sect; I care not how weak and humble may be a single man accused of however atrocious a crime; time was when the feelings and the passions and the wish of a majority determined his rights, and oftentimes his right to life; but now, in this

twentieth century, with all the light of the civilization of our times, after a century and a quarter passed by this great and free people following the footsteps of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison,—now with all the peoples of the world following their footsteps in the establishment of constitutional governments, the hand of a single man appealing to that justice which exists independently of all majorities, has a power that we can not ignore nor deny but at the sacrifice of the best and the noblest elements of government.

There is such a thing as justice, and though the greatest and most arrogant majority unite to override it, God stands behind it; the eternal laws that rule the world maintain it; and if we attempt to make the administration and award of justice dependent upon the will of a majority, we shall fail, and we shall fail at the cost of humiliation and ignominy to ourselves. — *Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, First Session, Aug. 7, 1911, pages 3802-3804.*



SENATOR BORAH, OF
IDAHO

On the same question Senator Borah maintained that the difference between the old democracies or republics, which perished, and ours, is that the ancient republics could devise no way by which to —

"Shield the Rights of the Minority"

He said in part: —

I am afraid that the principle of the recall as applied to judges will tend to establish the rule of the majority in matters of judicial controversy. It will tend to make decisions bear the color and drift of majority rule or party domination rather than that of a faithful rendition of the law and the facts. What is the basic principle of democratic or republican government? We sometimes urge that the first principle is that the majority shall rule. That is true in making laws and determining policies, but it has no place in, and will destroy republican government if applied to the courts, or

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to controversies to be determined under the law. There all men are equal. Back of the rule of the majority is the great principle of equality, the basic, bed-rock principle of free government. The difference between the old democracies or republics, which perished, and ours is that the ancient republics could devise no way by which to shield the rights of the minority.

Though the majority must rule, yet a government which has no method for protecting the rights of the minority — for it has rights — is a despotic government. I do not care whether you call it a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a republic. A government which will not protect me in my rights, though I stand alone and against all my neighbors, is a despotic government. If our courts are taught to listen, trained by this subtle process of the years to harken to the voice of the majority, to whom will the minority appeal for relief? If the voice of the majority controls, if this principle finally comes to be recognized in the timidity of judges, to what power in our government will the isolated, the unfortunate, the humble, and the poor go for relief? Where will those without prestige, without wealth or social rank, go for protection? — *Congressional Record, Sixty-Second Congress, First Session, Aug. 10, 1911, page 3063. (Speech delivered Aug. 7, 1911.)*

The principles enunciated in the above speeches appeal very strongly to the patriotic citizen who esteems the work of our forefathers in laying the foundation for this government as being of supreme importance. These principles apply to our citizenship in the matter of civil as well as religious relations existing among the people forming our great system of government. The National Reform Association and some religious leaders in this country who are ambitious to make people good by legislation, have decided, as far as it is possible for them to control, that the majority shall rule in religious as well as in civil matters. These have brought prominently to the front, and before Congress incessantly, the demand to amend the Constitution of the United States, so that it shall declare this to be a Christian nation. They also desire that Congress shall pass legislation compelling the observance of Sunday. Of these two, the Sunday issue seems to be the great turning-point on the question of national righteousness, its advocates holding that Sunday observance is necessary for the salvation of the nation.

S. B. H.

Freedom and the Bible

THE history of the past demonstrates that men have been permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences when the Word of God has been freest and most closely followed. It is also a fact that when the Word of God was abandoned or disregarded, and infidelity bore sway, there existed bondage, intolerance, and persecution. It should be recognized, however, that it was not because the church was dominating the state that liberty perished, but because the divine principle was disregarded which was enunciated by Jesus

Christ when he said: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

A remarkable illustration of the truthfulness of these statements was seen in the periods that preceded and followed the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Before the glorious light of the Reformation broke upon the darkened world, the Word of God was suppressed, and tradition was accepted in its place. The Bible was kept from the people because the so-called guardians of the consciences of men claimed it was unsafe for the

people to read it unless it was interpreted for them.

The time came in the providence of God when the shackles of both spiritual and physical bondage were broken. It began by the teaching of the Word of God. The light which shone forth from the Bible opened the way for the effectual protests against the intrusion of the state in matters of religion. The greatest measure of religious freedom has been enjoyed in the countries where the Word of God has been left untrammelled to run and be glorified.

There is, however, a remarkable change now coming over this and other lands. There is a very decided departure from the principle of religious liberty, which constitutes one of the fundamental principles of Protestantism, and which constitutes also one of the fundamental principles of the American nation. There is also seen at the same time a very

marked departure from that simple faith in the Word of God that once characterized the lives of men and women in Christian lands. As evidence of this condition, we need but point the reader to the almost overwhelming spirit of criticism against the Word of God that is seen in nearly all classes of society. One of the most recent and shocking demonstrations of this disloyalty to the Bible was seen in the proposition recently put forward to revise the law of God, the decalogue, to bring it into harmony with the spirit of the times. When human beings soberly discuss the question of putting themselves in the seat of the Almighty to revise his law, it would seem that human presumption had gone as far as it could go; and when it has gone so far, it need not be a surprise if the liberties based upon Holy Writ are given little thought by the leaders of ambitious organizations.

K. C. R.

A United States Senator Protests

The Menace of Religious Legislation as Senator Heyburn Sees It

IN a protest against considering the Johnston District Sunday bill (S. 237) Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, delivered a short but interesting speech before the Senate on May 26 of the current year, in which he said, as quoted in the *Congressional Record*, pages 1569-1571:—

MR. HEYBURN: Mr. President, I have always been opposed to this class of legislation. In the very early days of the settlement of this country we had a great deal of it, and on the statute-books in many of the States there are now provisions, which are termed "blue-laws," that are ignored. There are some now in existence relative to the District of Columbia that are not observed nor enforced.

We can not make people good by legislation. You can punish them for being bad. The spirit upon which this [pro-

posed Sunday law] is based, I suppose, is the commandment that "six days shalt thou labor." I have never known any one to propose legislation for the enforcement of that part of the commandment, or trouble his mind about it; yet, I presume, it is just as important, and was intended to be just as operative, as the following provision against performing any labor on the seventh day.

MR. GALLINGER: Does the senator think that the language, "Six days shalt thou labor," is a command that men and women shall labor six days?

MR. HEYBURN: It says, Thou shalt labor.

MR. GALLINGER: I think the senator has given that a far-fetched interpretation. I am sure that the theologians will not agree with him.

MR. HEYBURN: I am not a theologian. It may be fortunate for all except myself that I am not. I have due regard

for the observance of the Sabbath, and I believe that it should be observed, but I do not believe in legislation compelling one to do it.

This measure is of more than passing importance. I had not thought it would pass without considerable discussion. I have heard it suggested that it was a delicate question upon which to speak. I do not feel it to be such. A man who can not discuss his religion, has none; a man who is afraid to discuss it, has none. I do not think this is an appropriate place to discuss religious questions, except so far as they may be relied upon as a basis of legislation, but I can not refrain from expressing my regret that it is proposed in Congress to deal with the questions involved in this bill.

I think I opposed a similar bill on a former occasion, and it was charged in certain places that I was an irreligious person, and that I did not believe in orderly conduct on the Sabbath day. There is no foundation for that charge. I have always been a person of strong religious convictions. My ancestors have always been largely interested in religious principle and the development of it. I have followed in their footsteps, and *it is because of that*, at least in part, that I do not approve of this class of legislation. It was such legislation as this that wrote the annals of bloodshed and oppression and intolerance in the religious history of the world where a part of the people undertook to be sponsors for the conscience of another part. . . .

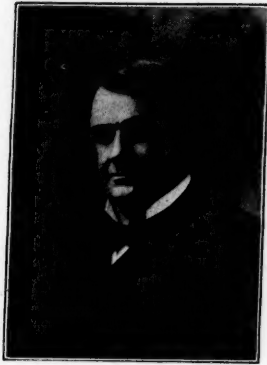
This measure grants special privileges to people who are members of religious societies. More than half the world and more than half the people of this city, are not members of any religious society. It grants a special privilege to those who are, and withholds it from those who are not. The law in this land, general and local, was intended to insure perfect freedom and independence to the citizen in regard to the observance of religious principles. So, as a matter of

principle, I am opposed to such legislation. . . .

No man has a right to set himself up as the moral standard of all the community, or of any part of the community except himself. As to the use of the Sabbath day, every man, so far as personal acts that do not include any acts of lawlessness are concerned, should be the guardian of his own morals.

It was never intended that the law should lay down the rules that should

constitute a good man, and say that all men must live up to those rules. That never was the intention of the lawmakers, and we discovered it very soon after we became a nation and had an organized government, and we abandoned that kind of legislation. It was the legislation that resulted in whipping people at the tail of the cart, placing them in stocks, branding them upon the hands, etc. That was the kind of legislation under which some person or coterie of persons undertook to set



SENATOR HEYBURN, OF
IDAHO

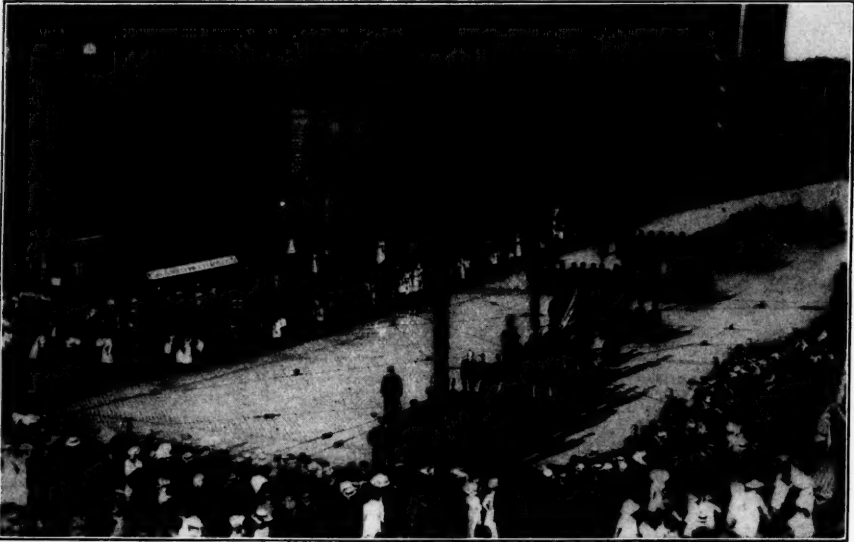
themselves up as the censors of the morals of the people. I thought that age had passed. I never expected to see it revived, and I never expected to see an attempt made in the Congress of the United States to prescribe rules that are intended, I presume, to supplement the ten commandments; and I suppose every year, according to the temper of a part of the people, we shall have new prohibitions and restrictions. . . .

If you are going into this question, go into it to the limit, and compel the people to live like the old Puritans of New England did when they were not allowed to have fires in their churches, and when they had to take their lunches with them, and eat them in cold sheds or where they might. If you are going to be erratic in legislation, be erratic according to some established rule, the rule of our ancestors. If you are going to recognize the rule that is recognized, or, at least, that I thought was, in all parts of this country that there is religious freedom of personal action so long

as it violates no law of the land and no contractual right of any one,—if you are going to uphold that kind of religious freedom, you can not pass this bill.

What authority have we, whence do we derive authority, under the Constitution to enact legislation that will interfere with the personal action of a citizen that is in violation of no law applicable to the whole country? Where else in the United States does such a law

the United States Senate, Sunday laws are viewed by some as religious, and therefore not in keeping with the American idea of civil government, while on the other hand there are those who are ready to accept the National Reform Association conception of civil government, and use the power of the state to enforce what they consider God's will.



PORTION OF PROCESSION, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

See article on page 24

as this exist? Are we going to have one code of morals in force by virtue of a law of Congress in the District of Columbia, and allow people to go right outside into the State of Maryland and perform the acts that they are not allowed to perform in the District of Columbia?

In reply to a question from Senator Gallinger, Senator Heyburn asked:—

Would the senator be in favor of enacting a law such as this, if we had the power, that should be applicable to the whole nation?

MR. GALLINGER: I would on this subject. I do not know that I would take the exact phraseology of this bill; but I would in a general way.

From the above it may be noted that in

It should be stated that the bill above referred to is still on the Senate calendar, and an attempt will be made to pass it at the regular session of Congress, which begins December 4. Every American citizen should send to the Senate, by that time, an earnest protest against any legislation by Congress upon religious questions.

S. B. H.

International Christian Endeavor Convention

THE Twenty-fifth International Christian Endeavor Convention was held on the Million Dollar Pier at Atlantic City, N. J., July 6-12, 1911. It is reported

to have eclipsed, in both attendance and interest, any previous convention of this body.

Among the prominent speakers were President Taft, Hon. Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks, former vice-president of the United States, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, and Booker T. Washington.

We do not question the sincerity of this body of young people or their devotion to what they believe to be right. To a degree the name of the organization is expressive of its mission. It is to be regretted, however, that a movement which embraces so many grand and noble principles has been led into the adoption of methods in promoting its work which are contrary to the principles enunciated by Jesus Christ. The particular feature of their work to which I refer is that denominated "The Christian Citizenship Department," or, in other words, the securing of their cherished ambition by the means of civil legislation.

The following drastic resolution on Sunday observance was unanimously adopted by the convention, as reported in the *Philadelphia Press* of July 12, 1911, from which we quote:—

Realizing that the growing encroachments of business and pleasure upon Sunday are not only making the work of the churches difficult and injuring public morality, but are also endangering the right of all men to a rest day, we urge all Christian Endeavorers to set the example of Sunday observance, and to throw all their influence in favor of the preservation of Sunday as a day of rest and worship. We most heartily commend and indorse the action of the Postmaster-General in closing the post-offices on Sunday in large measure, and pledge our united support as representing four millions of young people in the United States to this action in the interests not only of the post-office

employees, but also of public morality and proper respect for the laws of God. *We urge also upon civic authorities the enforcement of Sunday laws without discrimination.*

Could one imagine anything more drastic than this resolution, which urges that civil authorities enforce Sunday laws without discrimination? One can scarcely recall in all the history of the past a more sweeping enforcement of Sunday laws than this resolution calls for. In order that Sunday laws might appear less odious, the champions of Sunday legislation have had incorporated into these laws a clause exempting from their penalties those who observe another day of the week. But not so with the resolution passed by the Christian Endeavorers; for it plainly declares that the Sunday law should be enforced without discrimination. This resolution very plainly voices the spirit that those who have carefully studied this question have long maintained was lying back of such laws; for the whole scheme of Sunday legislation is intolerant, and therefore contrary to the principles of religious freedom.

It should be the earnest prayer of every child of God that the members of this great organization may be brought to realize how they are misdirecting their influence and power for good in the world by turning their backs upon God's power in seeking help from the puny arm of the state. Instead of attending the primaries for the purpose of exerting political influence, Christians should attend the prayer-meeting to obtain power from God, that they may influence souls to come to Christ. Instead of spending their time and effort in making some favorite candidate's election sure, the children of God everywhere should be seeking to make sure their own calling and election and that of others for the kingdom of God. Instead

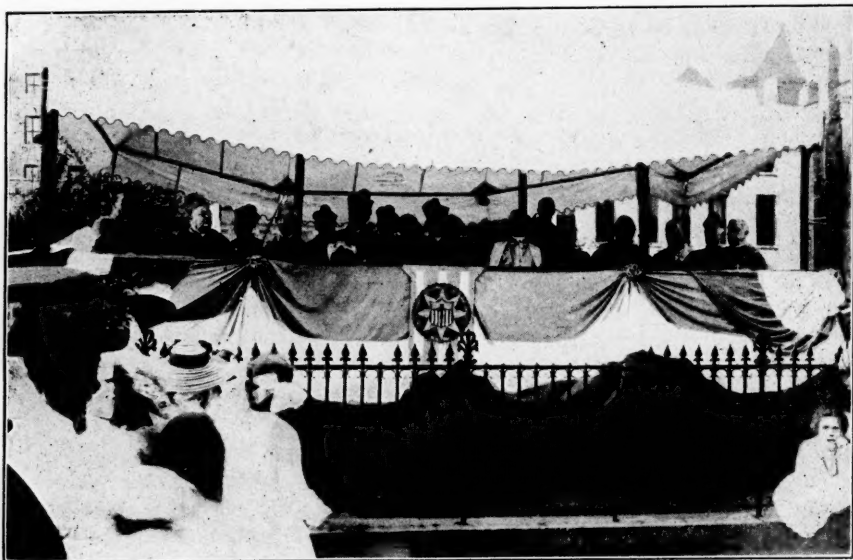
of compelling men by law to keep the day they regard as the Sabbath, they should persuade them to do so. In short, they should depend alone upon the power of God in their endeavors; for it is "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

K. C. R.

Prohibition in Maine

FOR several decades the money-worshipping liquor interests of the country

fact that the stronghold of the "wets" was in the cities, nineteen out of twenty voting "wet;" and the reason for the cities presenting such a showing is that many thousands of foreigners are domiciled there, being employed in cotton- and woolen-mills. These have no sympathy with Maine's record on the temperance question, and thus this class is not generally overscrupulous as to the matter of selling a vote. Some have voted for the repeal of the prohibition law on the



REVIEWING STAND FOR THE CATHOLIC PROCESSION AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

The second figure from the left is Bishop McFaul. The man in the light-colored robes, near the center, is the Pope's representative, Diomed Falconio. See page 24

have been employing their strongest weapons against the prohibition law of the State of Maine. They have stultified themselves at every turn in their efforts to capture the stronghold of prohibition. As we go to press, the issue is still in doubt, the alleged majority for liquor having been reduced from over nine hundred votes to twenty votes, and the declaration is made that there will be a recount. The size of the vote for the open sale of liquor is explained by the

pretext that it has not been enforced as it should have been. The consistent thing for this class to do now would be to bring an agitation for the repeal of the laws against stealing, perjury, murder, adultery, and gambling, and every other law that is not thoroughly enforced. To repeal a law against crime because crime continues to be committed, is the weakest policy imaginable, and would make the repealers particeps criminis with those who commit the crimes which the law

forbids. Maine has been much maligned as to the amount of liquor sold in the State. Those who have broken the law of the State by illegal selling of liquor there, are the ones who have been demanding a repeal of the law in order to "abolish hypocrisy and law evasion." Such advice comes with poor grace from such a source. The remedy for the condition complained of is to enforce the law, not to repeal it; and when men who are chosen to office refuse to enforce the law after taking oath to do so, they should be removed or impeached. The situation is one which demands straight and strong dealing with if the State of Maine is to be saved to the cause of temperance. Let the temperance forces rally to the standard of purity and sobriety from Madawaska to Kittery Point, and from Fryeburgh to the St. Croix, that the enemy of the homes and the manhood and womanhood of the world may not flaunt the banner of discord, dissipation, and death in the old Pine Tree State; for whatever the verdict of the recount may be, the need of a genuine temperance rally in Maine is apparent.

Demanding Compensation

IN conventions of liquor men where the question of the revoking of liquor licenses is under consideration, the demand is often made that, when licenses are refused, compensations should be granted by the government, the estate, or the city for the loss that may come to the saloon-keeper by the refusal of a renewal of his license. Concerning this demand, the *Commoner* of May 13 presents the following true and striking setting forth of the matter:—

They should remember the ancient rule that those who seek equity must do equity and enter a court of equity with clean hands. Do they compensate the mother when they drag her boy down to ruin? Do they compensate the wife when they

destroy the earning capacity of her husband? Do they compensate the children whose lives are blighted by a father's dissipation? Do they compensate society when they convert wealth producers into paupers? Do they compensate the state when they blunt the sensibilities of citizens and make a drink more potent than an argument in securing votes? The man who profits by cultivating in others the appetite for strong drink ought to be the last one to insist upon recovering compensation for any loss that he may suffer because of the enforcement of laws enacted for the protection of society.

Japan Will Not Establish Christianity

SOME time ago a movement was set on foot in Japan for the establishment of Christianity as the national religion of the country. A portion of the Christian world hailed this movement with joy, thinking that great good would come to the cause of Christ by the establishment of Christianity as the national religion of Japan; and when the government decided not to do this, such persons felt that the interests of Christ's kingdom had suffered by the decision. But not so. They would have suffered infinitely more by such establishment than they could possibly suffer without it. Says Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis:—

The power of religion is not in a decree on the statute-books, but an enthronement in the individual heart and life. The adoption of Christianity as a state religion by Japan would have been a disaster to the cause we love. Christianity is an atmosphere—a genial climate of the soul, in which the fruits of love, joy, obedience, peace, are ripened. Its power is love to God and man. Its power is the living Christ.

Such fruits are never ripened on the tree of a national religion. The formality of such a religion sears like a frost and devours like a canker-worm, and leaves only blight and death and decay wherever it is in force.

The Prohibition Battle in Maine

G. B. STARR

AFTER one of the hardest- and closest-fought battles of the century, the people of Maine, on Sept. 11, 1911, voted on the question of retaining prohibition in their constitution.

In all the districts where the prohibitory law had been most vigorously and successfully enforced, the returns were uniformly and unanimously for continued prohibition. The farmers, whose well-kept homes,—castles on the hill-sides,—well-filled barns, fruit-laden orchards, and happy, peaceful firesides, attest their enviable, happy condition, voted decidedly and unitedly, "NO." These are the true sons of Maine, who have a right to speak for Maine.

The alien population, who have come to this peaceful, prosperous State to find a home, have insisted that their drinking habits shall become a part of the manners and custom of Maine. They have united with the liquor manufacturers and sellers in violating the laws of Maine, their adopted home, and they wish to make it appear that a repeal of the law is the only remedy, and the only relief from the present condition, which they term a condition of "hypocrisy."

What was needed was not repeal, but vigorous enforcement of the law.

At the present time, with the admitted violations of the law, the condition of the people, as a whole, is so markedly superior to that of an equal number in license States as to be a matter of common remark by observing visitors. All this the foreigner would have changed. He has come to Maine to better his condition. He has fled from the undesirable conditions in his European home land, but now, refusing to change his lifelong drink habits and become transformed to the happy condition of a son of Maine, he would do his utmost to degrade Maine, his adopted home, to the besotted condition of the one from which he gladly sought refuge. But

Maine must not, need not, be degraded, even in her cities, if she holds her banner high. She will lose some of this element from her population, and attract to her State more of the more desirable class who are anxious to move from license States to one where prohibition is enforced. For the sake of security to life, liberty, property, and for the sake of their wives and children, they desire a change; and let those in Maine who so loudly cry for a change for the worse, go where those conditions already exist, and obtain their experience there, rather than insist that Maine shall travel with them over the road of sorrow, increased crime, and poverty so assuredly held before them, as shown by cold, hard statistics from sister States where license is in vogue.

It is not the farmers, the merchants, the manufacturers, the bankers, the educators, the churches, nor the wives and mothers of Maine, that have called for a change, or that voted for a change. The present agitation has called upon all to take their stand, and the eyes of the people are now open, and they know better whom to trust and whom to elect to public office.

We wish that every voter in Maine could have listened to the strong and convincing speeches of ex-Governor Hanley, of Indiana, on the possible enforcement of law. Prohibition prohibits when the executive is strong to execute the will of the people; and the executive is strong only when he listens to the voice of the people, and not to the threats and the bribes of the organized liquor traffic.

While the result of the vote is still in doubt, it is ardently hoped by all of Maine's sons and daughters who are worthy a place in her household that the plague of liquor may not be permitted to spread contagion throughout her borders.

Prohibition and Personal Liberty

W. M. HEALEY

Is the prohibition of the liquor traffic an infringement upon personal liberty?

What is personal liberty? It is one's right to do what he pleases so long as he does not interfere with, or endanger the rights of, others.

A man has no right to shoot at a target in his own field if his shooting endangers the lives or property of his neighbors. One has no right to burn his own brush pile, if the fire would endanger another's property.

A man is serving out a sentence in the State prison of California for arranging a simple clock-work contrivance to go off at a certain hour of the night. The criminality did not consist in making the machine, but in the consequences that were likely to follow. It was designed to ignite a bunch of matches, and so start a fire that would endanger the lives and property of a whole city.

Why was a man arrested for placing a bomb under another man's window?—Because he placed life and property in jeopardy. Thousands are arrested and punished for committing acts like these I have mentioned, and no one claims that their personal liberty is interfered with, for all agree that personal liberty gives no right to injure or endanger the lives or property of others. Then shall we say that the guaranty of personal liberty is a guaranty to men that they shall have liberty to carry on the liquor traffic, which is a greater menace to, and more destructive of, life and property than any other one evil in the world?

Suppose a corporation should build a factory for the manufacture of a machine that would run along the road, throwing out explosives which would destroy life and property. The first explosion of the trial machine kills a little child; the second burns a number of buildings and destroys several lives, and the machine goes on, while the men who built it and turned it loose, say to the people: "You must not stop it; we claim our personal liberty to make that machine and to turn it loose, and we are making half a million more to turn loose." Wo

to those men and their business; and wo to the man who would say, "I know it is hard on the community, but if these men will give us a few dollars a year, we will protect their ruinous business with a license."

The liquor business, with its factories and distributing establishments, keeps five hundred thousand drunkards constantly menacing life and property, and a more "infernal machine" was never invented than a drunken person.

No one calls it an infringement upon personal liberty to prohibit the manufacture and circulation of counterfeit money. For precisely the same reasons no one has any right to drink, manufacture, or sell intoxicating drink; these are only successive steps in making man a counterfeit, a fraud, an "infernal machine" to endanger and ruin the property and lives of others. Some say, "A man should have personal liberty to drink if he wishes to." I say that depends on whether he can make it a purely personal matter or not. If his father and mother, his uncles and aunts, his brothers and sisters are dead, and he has neither wife nor children, and no one closely enough related to be disgraced by his conduct, and he so worthless as to be of no use to his country in peace or war, and then (as the Chinese do in some of our large cities) he digs a hole in the ground, and goes into it, with a guard at the door to keep him there so he can do no mischief,—then under those circumstances he may, with some show of argument, claim it as his right to drink, because the act is personal, and the evil results are to himself personally. On the same ground and by the same rule, may the dealer and manufacturer be tried. Prohibit the sale and manufacture as we prohibit the making or use of counterfeit money, then we shall have a prohibition that prohibits, and no one's rights will be interfered with; but the liquor makers, dealers, and drinkers will be prohibited from interfering with and destroying the rights of others.

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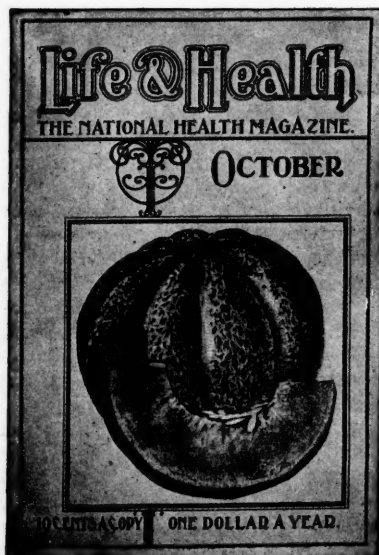


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THROUGH the efforts of the friends of religious liberty many newspapers in different parts of the country have recently opened their columns to articles setting forth the principles of freedom of conscience, and warning the people of the conspiracy against their liberties. This is a work that ought to be encouraged and strengthened. Let the friends of freedom prepare articles of this nature and present them for publication in their local papers. The issue now before the American people is a most vital one, and a duty devolves upon those who know what it means to inform those who do not.

LABOR unions, both American and British, are working now for the enforcement of Sunday laws. The American Federation of Labor is definitely and officially committed to that program, as is also the British Trades Union Congress. The latter proposes to support and preserve the "divinely appointed day of rest in all its sanctity, purity, and sweetness." We are reminded by this

remark of a statement once made by the editor of the New York *Independent*, to the effect that if the members of the trade-unions were to become dogmatic religionists, "the days of persecution for the faithful are not over;" and the character of the remark made by the British T. U. Congress smacks very strongly of both dogmatism and religion.

JUST as we go to press, word comes from Newfoundland that as a result of the activity of the Lord's Day Alliance, two conscientious, God-fearing, Sabbath-keeping Christians have been arrested and fined in that province for quiet, inoffensive labor on Sunday. They have been given their choice of paying the fine or spending fourteen days in prison. And this persecution—for it is nothing else—is carried on in the name of Christianity, is in fact instigated by those who have named the name of Christ. Verily, says the Word of God, "The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." That spirit which Christ rebuked is very much alive to-day in various parts of the world.

NEW MEXICO has been put in the lime-light of Sunday enforcement by the efforts of the district attorney of Colfax County, who proposes to enforce the Sunday laws of his State in that county without discrimination. New Mexico's Sunday law places in jeopardy in that State, that right fundamental to true religious freedom, the right of every man to choose what religion he will, and to decide for himself what religious customs he will observe. Some of the citizens of that county seem to regard this as a victory for temperance, inasmuch as it will close the saloons on that day. But a law which closes saloons on one day and legalizes their opening on six days is a curious sort of victory for temperance. The victory is the other way by a majority of six, and the saloon is given an air of respectability in the bargain. More than that, such a victory is purchased at the sacrifice of the most important right of the individual—the right of choice in matters of religion.

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